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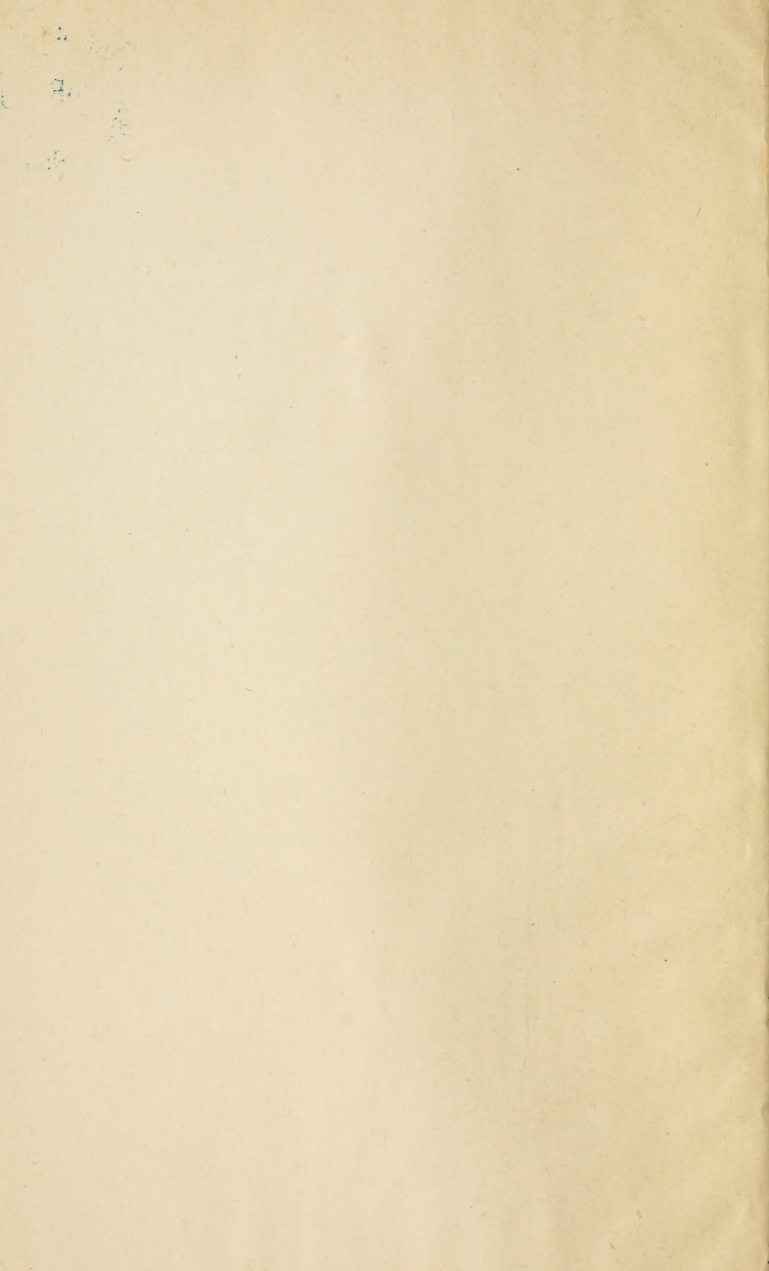
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What may be regarded as the most important work published by Dr. Good appeared in 1899. It was the *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*. It was written after the archives of Holland, Germany and Switzerland had been ransacked and their contents, bearing on the history of the Reformed Church in this country, had been carefully gathered together. Equipped with these new sources the author was enabled virtually to rewrite the whole of the early history of the Church, basing himself not on uncertain traditions, but on contemporaneous documents. The book revealed clearly how the Reformed Church of Holland directed its missionary operations in America. The exact number of missionaries sent from Holland, namely thirty-seven, was ascertained, as well as the exact number trained and ordained by the Coetus of Pennsylvania, namely twenty-seven, so that the whole number of the members of the Coetus of Pennsylvania was found to be sixty-four. Besides, the author was able to throw a good deal of light on the independent Reformed ministers, of whom he presented thirty-seven sketches. Thus he not only increased the total number of known Reformed ministers, who labored in the American Colonies during the Coetus period, but he added also many important details to their biographies. The result of this investigation was that the broad outlines of Reformed history in Pennsylvania were clearly sketched. Later historians may correct details, or add new facts in the lives of the individual ministers and congregations, but they will always be able to build upon the foundations laid so well by Dr. Good in this book.



HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMED CHURCH

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

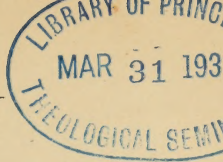
1725—1792.

BY

REV. PROF. JAMES I. GOOD, D. D.,

Author of the "Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany," "History of the
Reformed Church of Germany," "Rambles Round Reformed Lands,"
and "Historical Handbook of the Reformed Church in the U.S."

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P R E F A C E .

The present volume is the culmination of years of search. The author's previous volumes on the history of the Reformed Church of Germany were gathered in seeking to find the material for this volume. In 1893, at the suggestion of Rev. Dr. Corwin, the distinguished historian of the Dutch Reformed Church, the author was led to write to Amsterdam to know what records of the German Reformed Church in this country were there. But the price demanded for copying them was so high that the matter was dropped. In 1895 the author visited Amsterdam and arranged to have the Amsterdam correspondence copied, but was somewhat disappointed at getting only two of the missing coetus' minutes. In 1896, at the suggestion of Mr. Henry S. Dotterer, of Philadelphia, he visited the archives at the Hague, and there found the missing coetus' minutes, together with a multitude of other correspondence. As far as he knows he was the first minister of our denomination to see these treasures at Amsterdam and also at the Hague. Afterward with the aid of his esteemed colleague, Rev. Prof. W. J. Hinke, he was able to get these manuscripts copied. The same kind of search was made in Switzerland, Germany and England with surprising results, until we can reasonably say that most of the early history of our Church is clear.

The author is under obligations to Mr. Overmann, the librarian of the General Synod of the Hague; Rev. Dr. Vos, clerk of the classis of Amsterdam; Rev. Mr. Thompson, pastor of the English Reformed church of Amsterdam; Mr. Escher, of Zurich; Prof. Bloesch, of Berne; Prof. Braun, of

Hanau ; Rev. Mr. Kennedy, of Edinburgh ; Rev. G. W. Matthews, of London, and the British Museum for aid given. Also on this side of the Atlantic he is indebted to Rev. Dr. Corwin, Mr. Jordan and the Pennsylvania Historical Society of Philadelphia ; Rev. Bishop Levering, of Bethlehem ; Rev. Dr. A. DuBois, the late Rev. Prof. D. Demarest, Rev. Dr. D. Van Pelt, Rev. W. Toennes, Mr. H. S. Dotterer, and especially to the Theological Seminary of New Brunswick, with its librarian, Mr. Van Dyke, for the loan of rare originals, and to Rev. Prof. Hinke for his researches in the early lives of our ministers, and among the matriculation books of the universities abroad, and also for his examination of the manuscripts of this book.

The author has had a great deal of difficulty about the spelling of proper names, which differed so greatly in the manuscripts, also about some of the dates, on account of the difference between old and new style, also about the value of money, as the value of a Pennsylvania pound varied so much. He had taken a pound as equal to \$2.40, except in the Holland donations, where he took it to be \$2.60. He trusts that the critics will judge leniently, as this book was prepared under the great press of duties caused by his double position as pastor and professor of Dogmatics in Ursinus College. He will be glad for suggestions and corrections, as he feels that much still remains to be found about our early church history. Even while the printing of this book was in progress, Professor Hinke has located the first German Reformed church of America in Virginia. (See Appendix II.) The material on which he has had to work proved so abundant that he has had to limit his work to the coetus. Hence the lives of ministers after 1793 are merely sketched, not given in full. This book is sent out with the hope that it may aid the ministers and members of the Reformed Church in the United States to more historic consciousness, and a greater appreciation and proper pride of their history.

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HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

FORERUNNERS OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

The forerunners of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania were the French and the Dutch. It is, however, to be placed to the credit of the Germans that the first colony ever planted in America was German. The king of Spain mortgaged South America (all the America known to him) to the great German banking houses of the Welzers and Fuggers in return for their financial aid in colonizing and developing the new world. Thus Welzer, a wealthy merchant of Augsburg, obtained a grant of territory from Emperor Charles V., and in 1526 he sent three ships with 500 soldiers and a company of traders to South America. This colony erected a fort and laid out a town. Through the later separation of Germany from Spain and the death of Charles V., the

colony was finally broken up after it had existed for thirty years. But its memorial still remains in South America in Venezuela, which is the Spanish for Welzerland.

It is also interesting to notice that not only were the first colonists Germans, but that the first colonists that were Protestants were Reformed. They included among them the first foreign missionaries of Protestantism. It is therefore proper before we pass on to examine the origin of the German Reformed in the United States, that we consider briefly the earlier Reformed on this continent.

A.—THE REFORMED OF SOUTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION I.

THE FRENCH REFORMED IN BRAZIL.

The first Protestant settlement in America was the French Reformed colony in Brazil. And as they began the work among the native Indians there, they also have the honor of being the first Protestant missionaries. Protestantism was hardly born before it began to save the heathen. These missionaries were sent out one year before the Lutherans sent their first foreign missionaries to Lapland. The names of these first missionaries deserve to be embalmed in fame. They were Peter Richer and William Chartier.

In 1555 a French colony was sent to Brazil. It was led by Villegagnon, who by his ability and bravery had become vice admiral of Brittany. He was the one who in 1548 had brought Mary Queen of Scots safely to France in spite of the watchfulness of the English. He espoused the Protestant cause and dreamed of founding a great French colony in the new world. Admiral Coligny too approved of the expedition. For he feared a persecution (such as came so terribly on himself and the

Huguenot Church afterward), and he looked westward toward America as an asylum for his persecuted brethren. The expedition sailed July 12, 1555, from Havre and landed in the harbor of Rio Janeiro, November 10, 1555. They took possession of the country in the name of France, calling it Antarctic France. On an island in the harbor, which still bears his name, Villegagnon erected a fort.

On February 4, 1556, he sent one of his ships back to Europe, and through it sent word, asking for some Reformed ministers for the colony. The Reformed family of Churches has always been ready to respond to a call to missionary work, and the church of Calvin, at Geneva, at once appointed two ministers. They set sail together with about a dozen artisans from Geneva, led by DuPont, in a ship which had about 200 colonists. After being almost shipwrecked they arrived at Rio Janeiro March 9. When they saw land, they rejoiced with new joy at being the first to tell the story of Christ to the heathen. Villegagnon welcomed them by a salute from the fort. A thanksgiving service was held, at which they sang the fifth Psalm, after which Richer preached on the 26th Psalm. Villegagnon ordered them to hold a daily service. On March 21 they celebrated the Lord's Supper, the first time a Protestant communion was ever celebrated in America—a forerunner of many rich spiritual feasts to the thousands of Protestants who after them settled in

this western world. It was not long before the ministers, touched by the condition of the natives, endeavored through an interpreter to teach them the first principles of the Protestant religion. The natives were greatly astonished at what they heard, and some of them promised to become worshipers of the true God.

But the colony had too short a history to produce great or permanent results. Unfortunately Villegagnon began gradually to return to the Romish faith. Among the emigrants was a student of the Sorbonne in Paris who had been secretly promised the episcopal jurisdiction over the colony if it were won back to Rome. To accomplish this he introduced controversies on some doctrinal points with the Reformed ministers—as is it lawful to mix water with wine in the Lord's Supper? may the sacramental bread be made of Indian corn? etc. He also objected to certain rites of the Reformed, claiming that unleavened bread ought to be used at the communion, and baptism should be with salt and oil as well as water. The ministers stoutly withstood him. But when Richer preached against these doctrines, Villegagnon became angry and forbade him to preach on such subjects and to administer the Lord's Supper. The questions in dispute were referred to the French Reformed church, and Chartier was sent back to Europe for a decision on these points.

While Villegagnon was in this uncertain state of mind, a ship from France arrived, which brought him a letter

from the Cardinal of Lorraine restoring him to the bosom of the Catholic Church again. He now openly attacked Calvin, calling him 'a frightful heretic.' He began persecuting the Reformed by ordering Richer to subscribe to the Romish doctrines of the mass and purgatory. This he refused to do. He therefore drove Richer and the Genevan contingent from the fort. But whither should they go? There was not a Protestant colony in all the new world save their own. They went across the bay to the mainland at the risk of being massacred by the Indians. Fortunately the natives received them kindly and brought food to them, while they in return tried to teach them the way of life. As they could not exist there long, they asked permission of Villegagnon to return to Europe. He finally allowed them to return on a French vessel that came into port, provided they would take in their vessel a sealed chest. In this, with the basest perfidy, he had placed a paper, which was to be given to the judge of the French province where they might happen to land. This paper preferred charges against them as heretics and directed the judge to seize them and burn them at the stake.

Ignorant of this perfidy they set sail January 4, 1558, having been in Brazil ten months. They soon found that they had exchanged a wretched existence on land for a more wretched one on sea. The ship was slow and unseaworthy. On the seventh day she sprang a leak. Fortun-

ately they were able to stop the leak, but the ship carpenter declared that the cargo was too large for such an old and worm-eaten ship. The captain, afraid that if he once landed, his crew might all leave him, refused to turn back, but offered a boat to any who might want to return to America, then ten or twelve leagues distant. The captain was the more willing to do this as he had not sufficient provisions. Five of them accepted his proposition and took the small boat to return to Brazil. They floated along for four days, using their clothes for sails, when a severe storm came up on the sixth day, which threw them ashore at the foot of a high mountain. They then proceeded to Riviere des Vases. At this place the natives treated them very kindly. After staying with them for four days, they started back to Villegagnon and arrived there in four days. They begged him to receive them, in spite of their differences of faith. He did so, but becoming suspicious that they were spies sent back by DuPont, the leader of the Genevan contingent, he attacked them by ordering them to sign a Catholic confession of faith within twelve hours. Of course they refused to do this and ordered Bortel, the best educated among them, to draw up a confession in reply, which they signed. Villegagnon then arrested Bortel as a heretic, and when he bluntly refused to recant, he brutally struck him with a fist and ordered him to be hurled from a high rock on the island into the sea. Another, Vermeil, was led to the

same rock, and when he refused to recant, he too was thrown over into the sea. A third, Bourdon, was sick in bed ; but when he refused to go over to Rome, Villegagnon had him bound and carried in a boat to the rock of execution where he was cast into the sea. " This," says Kalkar, the great Lutheran authority on missions, " was the first blood shed as a witness for evangelical missions." The Reformed Church, as it had the honor of having sent the first missionaries to the heathen, had thus also the honor of having the first martyrs for missions.

Meanwhile those who remained on the vessel, which these had left, seemed doomed to a living death. A hundred times a day it seemed as if the ship would be swallowed up by the waves. The crew were kept at the pumps night and day, and yet in spite of their exertions they were hardly able to keep the water down. One day as the carpenter was mending a part of the ship, a plank gave way. In a moment the sea rushed in with the force of a torrent. The sailors came rushing on deck, crying, " We are lost." The carpenter, however, retained presence of mind enough to thrust his coat into the hole. And by treading on it with all his might, he resisted the force of the water. He soon received help, which enabled him to keep the hole shut until he prepared a board with which to close it. On another day, when the powder was drying, some of it caught fire. The flames quickly ran from one end of the ship to the other, and set the sails

and cordage on fire. Four men were burned (one of whom died) before it was put out. To all these horrors was added starvation. They had with them a number of parrots and monkeys, which they were taking home as curiosities. These were soon eaten. Then rats and mice were hunted and eaten. Even the sweepings of the store room were gathered and cooked into a sort of pottage; and though it was black and bitter, they were glad to drink it. Those who had bucklers made of the skins of the tapiroussou (an animal of Brazil), cut that skin into strips and devoured it. Others would chew the covers of their trunks and the leather of their shoes, yes, even the horn of the ship's lanterns. They became so starved that they would have been glad to exchange their state with that of the king in Scripture, who is said to have eaten grass. Finally nothing was left for them to eat except Brazil wood, which is said to be the driest of all woods. Peter Richer, the Reformed minister, was so prostrated by hunger that he could not lift up his head, even in prayer. Indeed, owing to the intensity of the sufferings, it is remarkable that they did not kill one another for the sake of food.

Finally, after a voyage of five months, the pilot said he saw land. This was very fortunate, for the captain said that he had determined that on the next day they would have to draw lots for the purpose of killing one of the ship's company for food. They landed finally on the

coast of Brittany, near l'Orient, at the mouth of the Blavet river, on May 26, 1558. The inhabitants, touched with the story of their sufferings, kindly gave them food and assistance. Many of the sailors, however, neglected the precaution necessary for starved men and ate so freely that they died. Others recovered, but for a long time were afflicted by various diseases, as blindness, deafness, swellings of the body, etc. And just here we can see the kind providence of God. The French Church had always believed in the safety of God's elect. The sealed box, which Villegagnon had given them, was given by them, all ignorant of its contents, to the judge of that district. Fortunately they had been cast on a portion of France where the judge happened to be favorable to the Protestants. Instead, therefore, of executing the treacherous orders of Villegagnon, he on the contrary treated them with great kindness and permitted them to return to their own homes.

The colony in Brazil was soon after destroyed by the Portuguese. Villegagnon returned to France, where he tried to clear himself of his cruelty and perfidy, which had become known to the world. So ended the first attempt of the Reformed to settle in the new world. But though the existence of the colony was brief, its career was glorious, because of the movements it started in the Reformed Church. Its founders attempted to lay the basis of the greatest work of the Protestant Church—foreign missions.

As Reformed they attempted to make the western world Protestant. All honor to Richer and Chartier, the pioneers of Protestant missions, and to the three martyrs for Protestant missions, Bortel, Vermeil and Bourdon. The bay of Rio Janeiro is said to be the most beautiful in the world, but it is not more beautiful than the crown of immortal glory belonging to these missionaries and martyrs.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION II.

THE DUTCH REFORMED IN BRAZIL.

The second attempt to found the Reformed Church in South America was made, not by the French, but by the Dutch. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was incorporated. While its main objects were financial, yet it, like the Dutch East India Company, did not forget the religious condition of its colonies, but always sent pastors to minister to them. This company planted a colony in Brazil at Pernambuco, on the coast—the most eastern point of Brazil and about 1200 miles from Rio Janeiro. The company appointed as its governor Count John Maurice of Nassau-Siegen, one of the most zealous Reformed princes of Europe. He was a prince of the Nassau line, made famous by William of Orange; and though born a German, he entered the Dutch military service.

He was sent out October 25, 1636, as the governor of Brazil, landing at Pernambuco, January 23, 1637. He tried to reintroduce the Reformed faith again into South America, and snatch it from the power of the Jesuits and the native heathenism that so abounded there. For it has been the rule of the Netherlands that wherever a Dutch flag waved, there arose a Reformed congregation. The

count had taken with him to Brazil, as his court preacher, Francis Plante, who regularly held service for him. But he soon found that more ministers were needed for the colony ; so he sent back to Holland for them, and the next year (1637) eight Reformed ministers were sent thither.

These ministers seemed to have the missionary spirit. As early as 1623 Professor Walaëus had started a missionary school at Leyden, which aroused great missionary interest in the Dutch Church. The Reformed thus started the first school to train missionaries. It was an echo of the Synod of Dort where the subject of missions came up. These ministers seemed to have been full of the subject. A remarkable fact to be noticed about these men was that already in that infant age of missions they began to use one of its first principles, namely, preaching in the native tongue. Although they were all Dutchmen, they learned other languages, so as to preach in them. They preached in French and Portuguese, as well as Dutch, so as to reach the foreigners. But they were not satisfied with this. They were anxious to evangelize among the native Brazilians. In this they were ably supported by Count John Maurice and his chaplain Plante. They found that the Jesuits who had been there before them had been doing mission work under the Portuguese ; but like all other Romish missions, this work was very superficial. They had not translated the Bible into the native tongue. (For therein lies the great difference between Catholic and

Protestant missions. The first thing the Protestant missionaries give to the natives is the Bible.) Neither had the Jesuits preached to Indians in their native tongue, for as the Catholics always do, they used only the Latin language in their services. The Reformed ministers found that all that the Jesuits had taught the natives was to recite the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The Dutch Reformed ministers aimed at higher results. They learned their language, so as to communicate with them and preach a living, not a formal, Christianity to them. Davilus was the first of the ministers to learn the native language. Doriflarius was eloquent in preaching in both the Portuguese and Brazilian languages, and translated the Heidelberg Catechism into the Tapuya dialect. It was the first Protestant catechism to be translated into any of the Indian languages.*

These missionaries not only were missionaries to the heathen, but they also organized the first classes and synods in America. They were the first to bring the Presbyterian order of church government to this western world. Frederick Casseber preached in Recissa. In Olinda and the villages, Joachim Soller and J. Polhemius preached in French and Portuguese. In Tamarica Cornelius Poelius preached the gospel; in Paraiba Samuel

* It has been said that John Eliot's works in New England, and also the Lutheran catechism, were the first translations into the Indian tongue, but that is not true. The Heidelberg was the first, translated by these Dutchmen into the Tapuya dialect.

Rathelarius, an Englishman, preached. In the province of Cape St. Augustine John Stetinus labored with zeal, and in Serinhaen John Eduardi. In the province of Maragnana also God's word was preached by them. These various parts of the district formed classes which united into a synod. This occurred more than a half century before the Presbyterians organized their synod in Philadelphia. The Dutch Reformed were the first to organize the local congregation in America at New York, and they were the first to organize synods thus in South America.

There is still another peculiarity of this Dutch colony, namely, its fair dealing with the Indians. William Penn generally gets the credit of introducing this into America. But long before him Count John Maurice introduced it into Brazil. In every village he placed a Dutchman, who was to see to it that the rights of the natives were preserved, and that they were not cheated, but were paid for their goods. The natives therefore highly honored the Count, and one of their chiefs presented him with a costly dish, which he, after his return to Germany, presented to the Reformed church at Siegen, where, because of his long sojourn in America, he was called "the Brazilian." In 1645 he returned to Holland, bringing twenty-five tons of gold with him, and was received with high honors by the Dutch government. This colony was soon after destroyed by the Portuguese, and Brazil, instead of becoming Protestant, became the most Romish of countries. But,

although driven out of Brazil, the Dutch later acquired a South American colony in Guiana, which was given to them by the English in exchange for New York.* Thus although the Reformed Church was crushed out of Brazil, yet in these colonies, French and Dutch, she could boast the first Protestant missionaries, the first missionary martyrs, the first Indian catechism, the first Church organization into classes and synods, and the first attempt at fair dealing with the Indians.

* There are now about 7000 Reformed in Guiana.

B.—THE REFORMED IN NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION III.

THE FRENCH REFORMED SETTLEMENT IN FLORIDA.

Admiral Coligny, having failed to plant a colony in Brazil, made another attempt to found one in Florida that should be an asylum for the Huguenots. To Florida, the land of flowers, Ponce De Leon came in 1512, seeking the fountain of perpetual youth. To it also came the French colony in 1562, a few years after the destruction of the French colony in Brazil. The year 1562 was dark with ominous threatenings to the Reformed in France. The Huguenots looked westward to America as the land of wonder and promise.

The leader of this colony was a staunch Reformed, John Ribaut, who was also a brave and experienced soldier. They sailed from Havre, February 18, 1562, in two vessels. On a beautiful May day they entered the river of St. Johns, which they named the river of May. Up this river, famous to-day for its natural scenery, they sailed. They anchored near Fernandina and explored the country, finding it full of game. Ribaut built a fort about six miles from Beaufort, where he left a colony of

thirty persons. On June 11 he set sail for France, leaving this the only Protestant colony in all North America from the North Pole to Mexico. Soon came the struggle for food. The Indians fortunately were very kind to them, bringing them supplies as long as their own lasted. But the French wearied of their solitude and longed for home. So they set about building a rude ship on which they sailed for home. Their food gave out. Some died of starvation. Finally an English bark hove in sight of them and carried them prisoners to England.

In the meantime Ribaut had returned to France to fit out another expedition. Darker days were gathering for the Huguenots there. Plots at the court were growing against Coligny. Still he had influence enough to fit out a second expedition of three vessels under Rene de Laudonniere. They arrived at St. Johns river, June 25, 1564. They soon found that the former settlers had left, but they were very cordially welcomed by the Indians. All of the colonists were French Reformed,* but many of them were adventurers rather than of a religious turn of mind. They built a fort about five miles from the mouth of the St. Johns and thirty miles northwest of St. Augustine, which they named Fort Caroline, beginning their work after the Huguenot fashion with the singing of a Psalm.

* Some of the Lutherans like Rev. Dr. Seiss speak of them as Lutherans, but there were no Lutherans in France at that time, as the whole French Church belonged to the Huguenot or French Reformed faith.

Unfortunately the second party did not treat the Indians as peaceably as did the first colony, but became involved in a war with them. This was all the more unfortunate, for they would have to rely on the Indians for much of their food, especially as there was not a farmer among the colonists who knew how to till the ground. Dissatisfaction too arose among the colonists. The religious Huguenots among them complained that no ministers had been sent with the party. Others complained of hard work and bad food. Laudonniere as the leader had to bear the burden of these grievances. Finally there was an insurrection against him that imprisoned him, and some of the mutineers went on a privateering expedition against the Spanish islands, December 8. This at first was quite successful, but ultimately proved most unfortunate for the colony, as it made known to the Spaniards that there was a strong French colony in America. After they had gone, Laudonniere was reinstated by his friends, and the colony was well reorganized, as the bad blood of the colony had been drawn off. He now proceeded to finish the fort and build two new vessels to replace the two which the mutineers had taken away with them, when news came (March 25) that a vessel had appeared. It proved to be the mutineers returning. Laudonniere recaptured the vessel, and the leaders were shot.

With May came the third anniversary of Ribaut's arrival, but now the colonists were ragged and starving.

Laudonniere finally conceived the idea of capturing an Indian chief and holding him until the Indians had brought enough corn to keep the colonists from starvation. He succeeded in capturing Outina, the chief, and finally the Indians brought a good deal of corn. Laudonniere at length released the chief, but all this only made the Indians enemies, for they so attacked them that they only secured two bags of corn. Famine now raged in the fort. The Indians had killed two of their carpenters, which would delay the building of the ships. Finally came the climax. They were startled, August 3, 1565, to see three vessels appear at the mouth of their river. Who were they, friends or foes? They proved to be English ships under Sir John Hawkins. As they were Protestants also and hated Spain as much as the French, they soon showed their friendship. And when Hawkins found that some of them wanted to return to France, he sold them one of his smaller vessels, receiving in place of money the cannons of the fort. This was very unwise, for it left the fort almost defenceless, except by two field pieces. After their departure the colonists prepared to sail, but before they were ready, seven vessels appeared, August 28. Were they friends or foes? They were about firing on the strangers, when the latter called to them in French. And lo! it was the squadron of Ribaut, the founder of the colony, who had embarked with three hundred men from Dieppe and brought everything neces-

sary to make the colony permanent and successful. Stores were landed from the newly arrived ships. Everything swarmed with busy life and hope again. "But lo ! how oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue us, even then when we think to be at rest," said Laudonniere.

All seemed hopeful now, but on the clear sky a cloud appeared. On the night of September 4, Ribaut's flagship saw a huge ship, grim with cannon, floating toward her, bearing the flag of Spain. For the Spaniards had heard of the colony, and had sent Don Pedro Menendez with eleven ships to crush it. Spain claimed all North America by right of discovery, and would have no Frenchmen, still less Protestant heretics, on it. The Frenchmen on the ship, when they saw the Spaniards, cut their cables and fled to sea. Menendez in the morning gave over the chase and returned to the St. Johns. He found Ribaut had gathered his ships within the bar and was ready to meet him with his soldiers. So he sailed southward to St. Augustine, where they built a fort and founded what is now the city of St. Augustine. Ribaut having heard that the Spaniards had fortified St. Augustine, determined to attack it by sea. His ships were on the point of attacking St. Augustine when a terrible gale prevented. Meanwhile Menendez formed the plan of marching over land and attacking Fort Caroline. His soldiers at first were unwilling to go overland, but he was determined, and five hundred started, led by two Indians. Through

three days of driving rain they marched through the forests, Menendez urging them by saying, "This is God's war. It is a war with the Lutherans" (as the Catholics then called all Protestants). On the morning of September 20 they burst on the fort. The French were utterly unprepared, not a sentinel being on the rampart. Those of the French who were able, escaped to the woods; the others were brutally killed, until 142 were slain in and around the fort. The son of Ribaut in a small vessel fled to sea. He afterwards picked up Laudonniere and 25 others and then put to sea for France. Menendez sent word to his king that he had taken fifty prisoners, women, infants and boys under fifteen years of age, saying he was "in great anxiety lest through them the venom of heresy should spread." He hung a number of his prisoners on trees, placing over them the inscription: "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

Meanwhile a terrible fate had befallen Ribaut's expedition. The gale had shipwrecked his vessels on the coast below St. Augustine. His men, ignorant of the fate that had befallen Fort Caroline, struggled northward in two parties through the forests to reach the fort. Menendez, having returned to St. Augustine, soon saw the fires of one of the expeditions. He set out against them. "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" he asked. They said the latter. He told them that their fort had been taken and bade them surrender. As they had no hope but starva-

tion, they surrendered. As they came to him in bands of ten, he had them killed, sparing only twelve, who said they were Catholics. He did this, saying to his king, "that thereby in future this evil sect (Protestants) will leave us free to plant the (Catholic) gospel in these parts." He then waited to hear about the other party of Ribaut.

On October 10 the Indians brought the news of a larger party, among whom was Ribaut. They at first pretended great bravery, but as they were starving, they were compelled to sue for terms of surrender. Ribaut came to him and plead for mercy on his men, as the kings of France and Spain were at peace at that time. Menendez, however, compelled him to an unconditional surrender. When the Huguenots were surrounded by the Spaniards, they called out to them: "Are you Catholics or Lutherans, and is there any one among you who will go to confession?" Ribaut answered: "I and all here are of the Reformed faith." He then recited the Psalms. "Lord have mercy on me. We are of earth," he continued, "and to earth we must return. Twenty years more or less can matter little." Then turning to Menendez he bade him do his will. Menendez then cruelly put all to death.

Thus was the Huguenot colony in Florida blotted out, as it had been before in Brazil. When the news of Menendez's terrible cruelty reached France, a cry of horror went up from the Huguenots there. The king, however,

being a Catholic, did not attempt to avenge their deaths—especially as he was then just beginning to feel the bitterness against them, that culminated later in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was left for a French nobleman, de Gourges, to wipe out the stain and avenge the slaughtered Huguenots. On August 22, 1567, he sailed from the mouth of the Charente. He never told his crew whither he meant to go until they were off Cuba. When he told his sailors, their enthusiasm knew no bounds. Menendez, meanwhile, had strongly fortified himself at both St. Augustine and Fort Caroline. When de Gourges came near the shore he found the Indians gathered to resist him as they thought his ships were Spanish, for the Indians had been greatly illtreated by the Spaniards. But as soon as they found they were the French they were very glad and agreed to aid the French, but asked three days for preparation. When they came in sight of the Spanish fort at Fort Caroline, de Gourges cried out to his soldiers: “There are the murderers who have butchered our countrymen.” And now it was the Spaniards’ turn to be taken by surprise there. They were totally unprepared and not a Spaniard escaped. On the very trees where Menendez had hung the Huguenots, de Gourges hung the Spaniards, placing over them the inscription: “Not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors and murderers.”

He did not attempt to capture St. Augustine, for he

felt his mission was accomplished by the capture of Fort Caroline. He bade the Indians destroy the fort at the mouth of the St. Johns. Then embarking, he thus addressed his men : “ My friends, let us give thanks to God for the success He has granted us. Not to our swords, but to God only, we owe our victory. Let us pray, too, that He may so dispose the hearts of men, that our perils and toils may find favor in the eyes of our king, and of all France, since all we have done was for the king’s service and for the honor of our country.” De Gourges left Florida May 3, 1568, reaching Rochelle by Whitsunday, where the Huguenots received him with great honor. But the king received him coldly ; and fearing disgrace, he finally retired to England, and then to Portugal, in whose service he was again asked to cross swords with the Spaniards, but died on the way to Tours in 1583. Menendez finally left Florida and the Spaniards abandoned it in disgust.

Thus was the French colony destroyed and avenged. Not at Fort Caroline, but in the Carolinas, in the next century, were the Huguenots to find a refuge, as they did after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Then hundreds of them found a home, especially in South Carolina, where a French Reformed church was founded very early at Charleston, which is still in existence.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION IV.

THE DUTCH REFORMED IN NEW AMSTERDAM.

This colony had as its forerunner Hendrik Hudson, the discoverer of the Hudson river, who took possession of it in the name of the Dutch. It was settled by the Dutch West India Company. The first governor of the colony was Peter Minuit. He was born (1580) at Wesel, in northwestern Germany, one of the strongholds of the Reformed Church. Born so early, he almost touches the reformers of our Church—for both Olevianus and Ursinus were living when he was born. He may, therefore, be called the connecting link between the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Reformed in this western world. Olevianus must have been a well known name to him in his boyhood, for he did not live so far away, and had, perhaps, passed through Wesel on his way to the Dutch Synod at Middleburg.

Minuit was of good Huguenot stock, for Wesel had been a great asylum for the Reformed in the days of the Reformation. A large French Reformed church had been organized there, of which he was an elder. He must have become a man of prominence there, for when he leaves Wesel he is appointed soon to such a prominent office as

governor general. He left Wesel, April 15, 1625 (before it was captured by the Spaniards during the Thirty Years' War), and, like many of his German cotemporaries, he entered the service of the Dutch government; for the ruler of Holland was also a prince of the neighboring German province of Nassau. He was appointed, December 19, 1625, by the Dutch West India Company governor general of their colony in New Amsterdam (New York), and sailed for New York, where he arrived May 4, 1626.

As governor he ruled with signal success. Like Count John Maurice of Nassau Siegen, the South American governor of the Dutch West Indies, he introduced fair dealing with the Indians. William Penn generally gets the credit for this, but Minuit preceded him. Honor to whom honor is due. Eighteen years before William Penn was born, Minuit made his treaty with the Indians, buying their land of them. He bought, in 1626, the island of Manhattan (22,000 acres, now New York city) for twenty-four dollars. Although the Spaniards waded through seas of blood to capture Mexico, Minuit, on the other hand, by the treaty of purchase, secured their lands by peace. Although the Dutch had already secured the Hudson by right of discovery, he determined to secure it by a higher right—that of purchase. It was, however, a shrewd act, for this fair policy with the Indians made the Iroquois, or Five Nations, the firm friends of the Dutch. They ever remained the friends of the New York colony,

and afterwards became the bulwark to protect the colony against the Algonquin tribes of Canada, and their allies, the French. Having bought the island, he built on it a four-angled fort. He fostered agriculture and pasturage on the island. He also fostered friendship with the governor of New England, so that his colony might be strengthened against their common foe, the Spaniards. His administration was so successful that when he resigned and sailed for Holland in March, 1632, he took with him five hundred beaver skins, and the fur trade had risen during his administration to 14,300 gulden (\$57,200). During the six years of his administration he laid the foundation of the future metropolis of America, as well as the foundation of one of our greatest states.

He was not only a wise statesman, but also a zealous member of the Reformed Church, and in this was quite in contrast with his successors, Van Twiller and Kieft, who, like Gallio, 'cared for none of these things.' He founded not merely the city and the state, but the first Protestant congregation in this country. This congregation had services, it is said, as early as 1614, held by "sick consolers," and worshiped in the mill loft of the fort. The congregation is now the Collegiate Reformed congregation of New York city. The only congregation that disputed its right to be the oldest in America, was one of the early Congregationalist congregations of Boston, which, however, since became Unitarian, so that this Dutch church is the oldest evangelical church in America.

We have said that Minuit was like Count John Maurice of Brazil in treating the Indians fairly. There is another interesting parallel between the Dutch Church in Brazil and in New York. We have noticed that the Dutch were the first in South America to successfully preach the gospel to the Indians. The Dutch of North America have the same honor. Three or four years before John Eliot, who generally gets the credit of being the first to do this, a Dutch minister at Albany, Rev. John Megapolensis, preached to the Indians. He came to Fort Orange (Albany) 1643.

Minuit having resigned because he attempted to resist the oppressions of the patroons in the New York colony, and was not sustained in it by the West India Company, returned to Holland. Having been cast aside by the West India Company, he was finally engaged by a Swedish West India Company to plant a colony for them in the New World. His great knowledge of America enabled him to do this with signal success. They appointed him governor general, and in August, 1637, he sailed with two vessels, the *Key of Calmet* and the *Griffin*, a transport, from Gothenburg in Sweden. They finally landed in Delaware Bay at Clarke's Point, March 15, 1638. After the severe ocean passage through which they passed, this land seemed a paradise to them, and so they named it Paradise Point. He landed at Minquas Creek, which he named after the queen of Sweden, Christiana Creek. Here he pursued the same humane policy toward the Indians that he had done in New York. He, and not Penn, should have the credit

of introducing into Pennsylvania the policy of buying the land from the Indians. For on March 29, 1638, he bought (from the very same Indians who 44 years afterwards treated with William Penn) all the land from Cape Henlopen to the falls of the Delaware at Trenton. He was as successful in this colony as at New York. During the first year 3000 skins were exported. He, however, did not remain long. He made it strong by fortifying it, so that the Dutch, who were already eyeing it with envious eyes, would not capture it. He also began friendly relations with the neighboring governor of Virginia, so as to aid one another in time of war. He then sailed for St. Christopher, West Indies. He was about to sail away from there with a cargo of tobacco, when a Dutch captain invited him to pay him a visit. While on that ship a terrible hurricane came up, and it foundered with all on board.

As he was of French blood, yet of German birth, and in the employ of the Dutch, he was well fitted to represent the future Reformed churches of America, which have been made up of Dutch, German and French elements. And his colony in Delaware, though Swedish Lutheran, nevertheless indirectly prepared the way, as we shall see, for the founding of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. Though dead, his Reformed faith followed after him as a blessed legacy to our Church.*

* For a full account of the life of Minuit see the excellent monograph "Minuit's Memorial," by Rev Cyrus Cort, D. D. See also the "Reformed Church Magazine," December, 1893.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION V.

THE PALATINATE SETTLEMENT IN NEW YORK.

It looked at first as if the German Reformed Church would be founded in America at other places than in Pennsylvania. For the large emigration from Germany and Switzerland started not for Pennsylvania, but to New York north of it and to the Carolinas south of it. Carolina especially seemed to be at first the goal to which most of the colonists looked, though many were diverted in 1709 to New York. The history of these colonies forms interesting episodes in the early history of the Reformed in North America ; and as they are incidentally referred to in the history of the Coetus, it will be necessary to consider them. We take up first the settlement of the Palatines in the state of New York.

In 1709 occurred a most remarkable exodus of the inhabitants of the Palatinate to London.* The whole Palatinate seemed to be emptying itself down the Rhine into London.†

* The Palatinate lay mainly on the west side of the Rhine, from near Bingen on the Rhine southward to near Strassburg, while its capital, Heidelberg, was located east of the Rhine.

† These Germans were called Palatines, because most of them were from the Palatinate For a very interesting account of this emigration see "The

The reasons suggested for this remarkable movement have been various. The general impression heretofore has been that it was due to religious oppression in the Palatinate. But latterly the tendency has been to minimize this reason, until we think historians have gone entirely too far in this extreme. But Cobb has well said, "Why should the emigration be so largely from the Palatinate, and not from all Germany, unless there were peculiar causes that predisposed them to leave their country. These are to be found in the French invasion and the religious oppression of a Catholic prince." The three general reasons may be stated, as religious oppression, war and poverty.

1. WAR.—This reason is given in their petition to the queen of England, as it says that the exactions of the French in their country and the burning of 2,000 villages were the cause of the emigration. The Palatinate was the border land between France and Germany, near enough to France to be easily overrun, and yet too far from Vienna, the capital of Germany, to receive aid quickly. The war of 1688-9 had left the Palatinate a vast waste. "Ravage the Palatinate" was then the brutal command of King Louis XIV. of France (a modern Attila), and twelve hundred towns and villages went up in smoke and were left in ruins. Then he sent his army again in 1693 to com-

Story of the Palatines," by Sanford H. Cobb, published by Putnams, 1897. Also the recent most excellent yearly publications of the Pennsylvania German Society. In German, "Die Deutschen im Staate New York, von Kapp."

plete the desolation. Nor did the war cease then. At the beginning of the next century came the wars of the Spanish succession, which lasted from 1701—1713, when the European powers united against France, and the Palatinate again at times became the scene of marching armies to and fro to the main scenes of war in Bavaria, Italy and the Netherlands. In 1707 Marshal Villars led a French army through the Palatinate, which, the Palatines told Queen Anne, repeated the awful destructions of 1689 and 1693. The catechism of the Palatines, published in London in 1709, says "Villars and his army reduced the Palatinate to a perfect wilderness, not leaving the poor Reformed so much as a house to hide their heads in or hardly clothes to cover their nakedness." The result of all this was that when there was the slightest rumor of war, or of the approach of a hostile army, it had the effect of an ague fit on the inhabitants, making them shake and tremble in their souls. And the invasion of Villars, just a year or two before their coming to London, was a sufficient preparation for that movement.

2. POVERTY.—Wars always produce poverty, especially the kind of war then carried on, when an army lived off the country through which it passed. In addition to the devastations of war, nature seemed to have turned against them, as the winter of 1708–9 was intensely severe in Europe. We have found a petition of the Palatinate consistory of May 22, 1709, reciting a previous petition of

April 25 and 29, asking that on account of the poverty of many of the Palatines (whereby many of them were leaving the country) that the ten thousand hundred weight of flour ordered for the soldiers (a large part of which was not then needed) be given to them. The Elector, by June 13, granted two or three thousand hundred weight, and this to be returned when they had gathered their harvest. This niggardly gift (indeed, not a gift, only a loan,) shows the attitude of the court in the matter, and led to dissatisfaction among the people. After such wars and such a winter many became very poor. No wonder that so many sought the new world.

3. RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.—The Palatinate had been a Reformed country, but in 1685 the sceptre passed into the hands of a Catholic line of princes. Their new ruler had not been able to begin his religious oppressions (which afterwards came upon them and lasted for a century), when suddenly the French wars, of which we spoke, burst upon them. Of course the French, as Catholics, oppressed them as heretics and took away their churches. When the French retired, then their ruler, who ought to have been their friend, did not give back their churches, taken by the French, especially west of the Rhine; for both were alike Catholic and sought to injure their Protestant faith. Their oppressions became so great that by 1705 they attracted the attention of all Europe—so great that three kings, the Elector of Brandenburg, the King of

England, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, closed up some of the Catholic churches in retaliation until the Elector of the Palatinate gave them back their churches.* This oppression occurred just a few years before the emigration. These persecutions were the cause of their desire for religious freedom. We are aware that there is extant a declaration of the Reformed consistory of Heidelberg of June 27, 1709,† which declares there was no persecution. But compared with the other facts, it reads like a state paper rather than a free act—that is, one forced from them by the authority of their Catholic ruler. The very fact that there was need for such action shows that there must have been cause for it somewhere. So much smoke must have had a fire to cause it somewhere. On July 9, 1709, the Reformed consistory sent some complaints to the Elector about religious oppressions. This dissatisfaction became so widespread among the Palatines by the end of July that the Ecclesiastical Council of the Palatinate was led to contradict them so as to prevent more emigrations. Still all these acts but show there was dissatisfaction among the Palatines about their religious condition. The truth was that although seemingly the Reformed gained religious liberty in 1705, yet the facts show it was not so. There were constant sources of friction between the Reformed and the court. We saw scores

* See History of the Reformed Church of Germany, by Rev. James I. Good, D. D., pages 225-276.

† See Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1897.

of Gravamina in the Palatine archives, and found a later book (1722) in the British Muscum full of cases of complaints. The pamphlet entitled "An account of the present condition of the Palatines," published in London, 1699, declares that the suffering of the Palatinate was as bad as that of the Huguenots in France had been. Among other instances it cites the following : "A certain woman at Seckenheim, near Ladenburg, married to a Papist husband, having, however, brought up in the Protestant religion her daughter, she desired the minister of the place to admit her to the participation of the Lord's Supper, being at the age required by the discipline of our churches, which the minister did without any manner of scruple. The proceeding was doubtless very innocent and justifiable by all divine and human laws, but it seemed so great a crime to the papists that the poor minister was taken up, committed a close prisoner, and fined 200 florins. Would any one think afterward that we enjoy a free liberty of conscience ? An inhabitant of Wiesloch, a papist by birth and profession, but a more honest man than the generality of his persuasion, married some time ago a Protestant wife ; and it was agreed and covenanted between them that the children should be christened and brought up in the Protestant religion. His wife being brought to be of a male child, he, according to his promise, got him christened by the Protestant minister of the parish, which so incensed the popish clergy that they got an order to carry

him to Heidelberg, where he has been kept a close prisoner and very severely used and forced to pay a fine of 50 florins to come out." Such were some of the persecutions that made them long for religious freedom.

These were the main causes why the Palatines left their fair land in such crowds to try the dangers of uncertain emigration and the terrible sea. They sought for freedom of conscience, for civil liberty and for a competence in the land beyond the Atlantic. In addition to these general reasons there were several direct causes for the emigration. The general causes just mentioned brought the popular feeling into such a state of dissatisfaction that it needed but a match to set off the powder magazine. The following were the direct causes.

1. THE KOCHERTHAL EMIGRATION AND THE NATURALIZATION ACT OF ENGLAND.—Rev. Joshua Kochertal, a Lutheran minister of the Palatinate, visited England in 1704, after the French invasion of the Palatinate in 1703, to inquire about the expediency of emigrating with his people to America. He returned and published a small pamphlet entitled "Full and Circumstantial Report Concerning the Renowned District of Carolina in English America." It was issued in 1706, and a second edition in 1709, and again in 1711. In January, 1708, he, together with 61 persons, applied to Davenant, the government agent of England at Frankford-on-the-Main, for passes, money and recommendations to go to England.

Davenant refused until their Elector had approved of their departure. In spite of this rebuff Kocherthal and his party found their way through Germany in March, and he arrived in London in April with a band of 41, of whom 26 were Reformed and 15 Lutherans. The queen considered sending them away to one of the West India islands, as Jamaica or Antigua. (Nothing is mentioned about Carolina.) They, however, objected, as the climate was too warm. So at her expense, after they had been naturalized May 10, they were sent, 54 in number, in company with Lord Lovelace, the new governor, to New York, arriving there January 1, 1709.

But Lord Lovelace died by the end of May, 1709, and Kocherthal then returned to England to pray the queen for her support. He came back to find London full of his countrymen, who had been drawn to that city by the very kind reception given to his party the year before. On March 23, 1709, the British government passed the Naturalization Act; which allowed the foreign Protestants to become citizens. Some writers as Cobb doubt whether the Naturalization Act had much to do with drawing the Palatines to England, because the time was too short for them to hear of it. They seem to think that it was the queen's kindness to Kocherthal that was the bait for them. But it is likely that this Act drew, if not the earlier emigrants, the later ones, and was looked upon as only another pledge of England's kindly feeling. The distressed Palatines

having heard of all this kindness of England to the Germans, reasoned that if England would treat his party so well, she would do the same for them.

2. THE GOLDEN BOOK.—It was customary at that time for the German land companies, who had taken up lands in Pennsylvania, to scatter flaming advertisements through Germany and Switzerland. The Palatines reported that a circular called the Golden Book (so called because it had a picture of the Queen of England in the front, and because the title page was in letters of gold), had been scattered through Germany. It aimed to encourage them to go to England, so as to be sent to Carolina, or some other of the English colonies. All efforts to find such a book have hitherto proved fruitless. Queen Anne never issued such a book, if, indeed, it ever existed. The book seems to be mythical as yet, but undoubtedly there was something at the basis of this report which caused such a furore among the Germans for England and America.

3. THE UNUSUAL COLD OF THE PREVIOUS WINTER (1708–9).—"Birds perished on the wing," says Weiser, "beasts in their lairs, and mortals fell dead in the way." The winter grains were destroyed by severe frosts, as were the fruit trees. Wine froze in their cellars and the vines in their vineyards.

These three were the direct causes that started the movement. They are like a match to inflammable stuff.

Still above these reasons was another and a grander. Under God it was one of the great movements of His providence to make North America Protestant; and also to found the United States, of which the Germans were a large and important, though, often forgotten element.

The refugees began coming to London about May first, and by the end of June there were many thousands there. As most of them were utterly without means, London soon swarmed with beggars. By May 12 their petition was presented to the royal commissioners by the Lutheran minister, Tribekko. The complaints against them, however, became so great that the English government sent an order to Holland, June 24, to prevent any more from coming to London. Still, in spite of it, the English minister allowed 3,000 more to come, as the Dutch would not receive them. The Dutch, too, it is supposed, secretly connived to send them to England so as to get them away from Holland. The city council of Rotterdam placed two yachts on the rivers Waal and Maas, and thus turned one thousand of them back. They continued coming as late as October, 1709, although there is a proclamation of the English government against their coming as late as December.

Of the arrivals there are four lists taken by the Lutheran ministers. The first is of the arrivals (May 6) at St. Catharines. It consists of 852 names, and is headed by Casper Turck, a Reformed student of theology, aged 25

years, of whom we know nothing. Of the families (210 in number) 122 were Reformed. The second list is of the arrivals (May 27), and numbers 1193. The third list is of the arrivals of June 2, 2756 in number. The fourth list is of the arrivals of June 11, numbering 1745. These lists make a total of 6,546. These, however, were not all who arrived. For on June 23, Tribekko asked to be relieved of the onerous task, as the two Lutheran ministers, entrusted with the matter, were worn out, one of them being already sick. So no more lists were kept. The total number that arrived, according to one account, is said to be 15,313, of whom more than half (8589) were from the Palatinate. Most of them were Reformed. Hence their interest to us. We have counted the four lists and find in them that of the heads of families and single men and women, 715 were Reformed, 673 Lutherans, and 516 Catholics, with 12 Baptists, and 3 Mennonites. We do not yet understand why the Reformed Church, of London, is not mentioned as aiding them. Perhaps because the Lutherans were made by the crown their official agents.

England had to bestir herself or these emigrants would starve at her very doors. London was not the London of to-day. The arrival of fifteen thousand strangers in the present city of London would not produce any appreciable effect on the city's population. But the London of that day was a small city, and the arrival of so many paupers

meant a great strain on her charities. Yet something had to be done and done quickly. The queen was favorable to them, and granted them, out of the royal bounty, 160 pounds daily. So was the Whig party favorable. It was they who had caused the passage of the Foreign Naturalization Act. But their rivals, the Tories, who had opposed that bill, were opposed to the coming of these Palatines. The latter were aided by the lower classes of England, who looked at the arrival of these strangers as interfering with labor, and lowering the prices paid for labor. They were also angry as they saw these foreigners getting charities which they thought by right belonged to the English. Besides the maintenance of the Palatines made the poor taxes heavier. The queen, however, went ahead. Empty warehouses, or dwellings, were taken for them wherever found. The queen also ordered a thousand army tents to be given to them. These were put up June 21, and they were encamped on Black Heath, southeast of London. Some of them were also placed at Camberwell, two miles from St. Paul's. Barns were used until needed for crops. The parish of Newington put up four buildings for them, whose relics still remain in the hamlet, known to-day as the Palatine Houses.

The queen also appointed a large committee, consisting of ninety-six persons in all, to receive monies to aid them. This committee was headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord High Chancellor. It consisted

of lords, and dukes, and earls, as well as ministers and merchants. Collections were taken throughout the kingdom, and the sum of 19,838 pounds, 11 shillings, and 1 pence was raised for them. The cost of their support while in England was 135,775 pounds and 18 shillings.

The problem before the English people was what to do with these Palatines. They had come unbidden, but they were not to be gotten rid of so easily. A few, but comparatively few, found places in London by going into their trades or entering domestic service. Those that were Catholics (one-tenth it is said) were sent back by the English government, because it did not allow foreign Romanists in England, or in the colonies. She had already had enough political trouble with them. Some of the Romanists, it is said, became Protestants so as not to be returned to Germany. The committee, before mentioned, whose duty it was to collect and receive the monies, was ordered to suggest ways and means of getting rid of the care of these Palatines. The first suggestion made was to settle them in small companies in various parts of England, just as the Elector of Brandenburg had done so successfully with the French refugees, in Brandenburg, at Halle, Magdeburg, etc. But this was found impracticable. Still quite a number settled quietly in some such way. The Palatines were finally disposed of in three ways :

1. The first party was sent to Ireland, whither it was decided to send 500 families. The parliament voted

24,000 pounds, (16,000 first, and 8,000 later); and 500 families, numbering 3,000, were sent over, beginning in August, and in February, 1710, 800 more. They were settled in Munster. An English traveller writes of their descendants early in this century: "They have left off sauer kraut and taken up potatoes, though still preserving their own language." And another, Kohl, in 1840, says they have not lost their home character for probity and honor, and are much wealthier than their neighbors.

2. Another shipment was for the Carolinas. This expedition will be described in the following Section. It may, however, be noted in passing, that six hundred of them were to have gone to the Scilly islands, but were never sent.

3. The largest, and the one in which we are particularly interested in this section, was the emigration to New York. While the English government was perplexed to know what to do with them, an incident occurred that affected the future of the Palatines. A delegation from New York arrived at London, headed by Mayor Peter Schuyler, of Albany. They brought with them four Mohawk chiefs, as specimens of the new colony, in order that they might be fully impressed with the greatness of England. These Indians, while sight-seeing in London, were taken to see the encampment of the Palatines. "They were so touched," says Weiser, "at the distress of the Palatines that one of them, unsolicited, presented the

queen with a tract of his land in Schoharie, New York, for their benefit.

Governor Hunter, the newly appointed governor of New York, proposed to the Board of Trade, November 30, 1709, that 3,000 be sent to New York to produce naval stores for the government—turpentine, rosin, tar and pitch. The Board of Trade brought the matter before the queen, also suggesting that if placed in that colony they would become a barrier against the French and Indians. There is a difference of opinion as to the date of the Palatines' departure. Weiser says on Christmas day. But Tribekko's farewell sermon was not preached until January 20, and the queen's instructions to Hunter were not given till Jan. 26. Kapp places it in April. They sailed from Portsmouth, where their ships had laid some time. They landed in New York in the summer of 1710. The voyage was long and many became sick. Crowded together in the ships, almost to suffocation, with insufficient food, many of them (407) died. Hardly a family among them had not been touched by death, and there were nearly fifty widows and 100 orphans to be provided for. They landed, as Professor Jacobs says, "a crushed, sick and dispirited band of exiles." They were in such a sickly condition that the authorities placed them outside the city on Nutten (now Governor's) island. In the autumn of 1710, they were removed up the Hudson river and settled on both sides of the river at East Camp (now Germantown) and West Camp, south of Catskill.

They were soon put to work preparing the trees for extracting of tar, etc. They were not very well satisfied with their lot. Still when the war broke out with the French in Canada, 300 of them (about half of the New York contingent of troops, it is said,) volunteered. But the efforts to extract tar from the forests of New York, thus to provide naval stores for England, were not a success. Hunter tried by force to make them do it. But the trouble was the trees would not yield it. The tar bearing trees in America do not grow north of Virginia, and from that district they extend southward to the gulf, and are known as the Georgia pine. Up to the summer of 1712, instead of the expected 50,000 barrels, only three score barrels were made from 100,000 trees. There was another cause for the failure of this effort to make tar. The Whig party, which, as we have seen, supported the Palatines, gave place in England to the Tories, who opposed any more aid to the Palatines. The Board of Trade of London took up their cause, but with a languid interest. Still their slight interest in it led to a correspondence between Governor Hunter and themselves that is very valuable now for its historical references. But as the Tory party, which was now in power, would not aid him, Governor Hunter was compelled to give up the making of tar by the Palatines, as he had involved himself in debt by the undertaking. The Tories repealed the Foreign Naturalization Act in 1712.

The Palatines having made one emigration, were now ready for another. They had become dissatisfied with what they considered the oppressions of Governor Hunter. The vision of Schoharie was ever on their minds as their Mecca and Eldorado. The governor found himself so impoverished by 1712 that he was forced to inform them on October 31 that they must depend on their own resources for support. This news spread consternation among them, as winter was near at hand and starvation threatened them. But with the fertility of resource common to a German they set to work. They remembered the gift of the Indian chieftain in London. They sent a deputation of seven of their leading men to spy out the land. An Indian piloted them to it from Albany. The Indians readily gave them the land, that had been promised to them in London, for \$300. They went to Schoharie in two bands. Before the winter set in, the first went to it, consisting of fifty families. These fell to work and in two weeks cleared a way through the woods fifteen miles long at the end of the journey. They had hardly arrived at their new home when an order from the governor came declaring them rebels, and ordering their return. But it was too late to return, as winter had set in, and besides return meant starvation. During that winter they almost starved, and would have done so if the Indians had not helped them. In March, 1713, the second band of 100 families started from the Hudson. They traveled two weeks through snow three feet deep,

suffering much from cold and hunger, the distance being ninety miles. They fondly compared themselves to the Israelites leaving Egypt, and called Governor Hunter their Pharaoh. They, however, had not been there long before their title to their lands was questioned by unscrupulous men, who claimed it had been given them by the government. When the government tried to gain the territory by force they resisted. The sheriff came against them, when the women took the matter into their own hands, led by Magdalena Zeh, and they rode him on a rail for seven miles or more, and finally left him with two ribs broken and worse indignities, to find his way home. He never returned after that. Their controversy with the government hung fire for several years. A conference with Governor Hunter in 1717 ended fruitlessly.

So they determined to appeal to the English crown for support of their rights. They therefore sent a deputation to London in 1718, consisting of the elder Weiser, Scheff and Walrath. They set out secretly, as Weiser had been ordered by the governor to be hung for insubordination on account of the land titles. They did not sail from New York, but went by way of Philadelphia, where they set sail. But their vessel was taken by pirates and they were robbed. Brought back to Boston, they again set out and arrived at London penniless. They were there thrown into the debtors' prison. The result of their privations was that Walrath died in London. Scheff quarreled with

Weiser and returned to America in 1721, where he died six months after in New York city. Even in prison they, however, found a way of getting the ear of the king. Their petition was referred to the London Board of Trade. Remittances of money finally came to them from home, and Weiser was released from prison. He kept up the fight for their rights, remaining in London for five years, and in 1725 he returned to New York, having gained nothing. Meanwhile the New York government had not been idle in pressing its claims. It had some of the leaders of the Palatines arrested, among them Conrad Weiser, the younger, who afterwards became the famous Indian interpreter. These were taken to Albany and released only after they had acknowledged the rights of their enemies to the lands.

The Palatines having made two emigrations, were now ready for a third. Dissatisfied with their lot and their treatment, they were ready to seek a home elsewhere. Some of them went over into the Mohawk valley and settled. The others with whom we are most interested came to Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania. It came about in this way. In 1722 Sir William Keith, the governor of Pennsylvania, visited Albany in regard to a treaty with the Indians. He there learned of the distressed condition of the Palatines, and offered them an asylum in Pennsylvania. Many of them lost little time in accepting it. The first company started in the spring of 1723, not more than

eight months after Keith's invitation. They were led by Hartman Vinedecker, and consisted of 33 families. They ascended the Schoharie a few miles, then led by an Indian guide they went over the mountains to the head-waters of the north branch of the Susquehanna. There they constructed rafts or canoes for the women, the children and the furniture, while some of the men drove the cattle down the stream along the shore.

“It was a band of exiles: a raft as it were from a
shipwrecked
Nation scattered along the coast, now floating together,
Bound by the bonds of a common belief and a common
misfortune.”

They traveled down the Susquehanna until they came to the mouth of the Swatara creek, up which they traveled until they came to the district of Tulpehocken, near Lebanon, which they named Heidelberg. They then wrote back to their friends, in New York, of the success of their journey. In 1728 another party started, led by young Conrad Weiser, who afterwards became a leader among the Germans, and died at Womelsdorf, 1760. Such was the romantic story of the Palatine emigration to New York. It does not concern us in Pennsylvania directly, as most of the Germans who settled in New York went into the Dutch Reformed Church. But indirectly it had great influence. For the sufferings of these Palatines in New York, when they became known among their friends in

Germany, so turned their hearts against New York, that they for many years avoided that port. While Pennsylvania, by its warm reception, became the haven sought by thousands of Germans within the last century. Many of the Palatines in New York were later served by some of the early ministers of Pennsylvania, as by Weiss, and after him by Rubel and others, whom we will meet in connection with the coetus.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION VI.

THE SWISS EMIGRATION TO CAROLINA.

Although this emigration took some of the Palatines from London, yet this colony was of Swiss origin and under Swiss management. The furore for emigration to America also seized the Swiss. This was not due to any persecution in Switzerland as in the Palatinate (for it was the land of freedom), but to the overcrowding of the country with refugees from other countries, who since the Reformation had found an asylum there. This emigration fever seized the Swiss especially at two periods, about 1709 and later about 1730. The first was the colony of Graffenried of Berne. The second was the colony of Pury of Neuchatel. Of the first only we will speak here, the latter we will consider later when we come to the life of Goetschi.

The canton of Berne seems to have been at first favorable to colonization. It sent out Francis Louis Michel to America in 1701. He made two journeys across the ocean. On the first he left, October 8, 1701, for Basle, arriving at Rotterdam, October 30. He left London, December 15. He returned to Berne from America, December 1, 1702, but left again, February 14, 1703, for America. His published reports and letters stirred up a great interest about the

Carolinas. Another Swiss, John Rudolph Ochs, who went to America in 1705, returned to England and settled in London. He there became a Quaker and published in 1711 "A Guide to America" at Berne. Quite a number of pamphlets began to be published in Switzerland about America, especially about the Carolinas. These prepared the way for this emigration. But it was Graffenried who in connection with Michel (who was called Mitchell in England) led the colony.

Christopher Graffenried was born in November, 1661. A year and a half after his birth his mother died, and although his father soon married again, yet as a boy he showed his headstrong, roving disposition. As a young man he traveled through Germany to Holland, and then to England, and finally to Versailles and Paris, making friends everywhere and developing his intense desire for travel. He returned to Switzerland and married, April 25, 1684. When Michel returned Graffenreid listened to his stories of America with great joy. Finally he could hold himself back no longer, and in 1709 he started for England with the idea of founding a colony in Virginia. He came to London just in the nick of time. The city was overflowed with Palatines, whom the British were anxious to get rid of. So an English society was founded to support him, which stood under the patronage of the queen, who gave 4000 pounds. He also labored among his friends at Bern, and together with Michel they founded

a society there, named George Ritter & Co., with a capital of 7200 pounds. He and Michel bought at London of the Lords Proprietors 10,000 acres of land between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers, paying 20 shillings sterling for each 100 acres, and a yearly rental of six pence per 100 acres. The surveyor general was also to lay out 100,000 acres to be taken up afterward. Under the feudal constitution of Locke he was made Landgrave of Carolina, July 28, and thus became one of the English nobility, which greatly suited his ambitious fancy. His society then proposed to take a number of these Palatines to Carolina. He agreed with the queen's commissioner, October 10, to transport 92 families (600 persons), to give to each family 250 acres for five years free of rent and after that a rental of two pence an acre. They were to be furnished with sufficient tools so as to be able to build dwellings and till the soil. Within four months after their arrival they were each to be given 2 cows, 2 hogs, 2 ewe sheep, 2 lambs, 2 sows. These were to be repaid by them in seven years. The royal commissioners allowed Graffenried and Michel five pounds sterling a head for transporting them, and gave to each colonist one pound in clothes and money.

Together with a small colony of Swiss, who had arrived at London, they sailed, 650 in all, January, 1710. Most of them were strong young men ; but the storms, the poor food and the close quarters caused much suffering, and many of them died on the way. A French ship captured

the best of the vessels even at the mouth of the James river. They then went from Virginia to Carolina by land on account of the dangers of the sea. Instead of the land which had been assigned them, Lawson, the surveyor general, gave to them the cape between the rivers Neuse and Trent, a hot unhealthy region, which was still occupied by the Indians. Soon they came into the greatest want, and had to give up clothes and tools so as to get food to preserve their lives.

Graffenried did not go out with his colony. He determined to wait for a second expedition, especially as Ritter had opened an office in Switzerland and was sending some Swiss. It left Berne, March 18, 1710, about 120 persons in number, not counting the Anabaptists, of whom the canton was very anxious to be rid, but who were retained by their brethren in Holland. They came by Rotterdam to England. At Newcastle Graffenried joined the expedition. They weighed anchor on July 6, 1710, but waited on the high sea for a fleet which was to accompany them and protect them against enemies. They sailed together till the northern end of Scotland, when seven of them sailed for America, going with a good wind between the Orkney and Shetland islands. The voyage took eight weeks. On September 10 they first saw land. They sailed down the coast of Jersey to Cape Henry in Virginia, and landed at the mouth of the James river, where is now Hampton. A long journey of 180 hours was still necessary to reach their

colony. Unforseen difficulties came in their way. The governor of North Carolina having died, there was strife between the parties. The Lords Proprietors had elected Hyde governor. But the Dissenters tried to put Carp in his place during his absence. The latter wanted Graffenried to aid them, but he refused and recognized Hyde. In the meanwhile word came to him of the great need of the Palatines in his colony. He gathered, as quickly as he could, means of subsistence for them and hastened to them. He found them in a very sad condition, most of them being sick, quite a contrast to his party of Bernese, who were all well. As Colonel Carp would not recognize Graffenried's patents to his land, he came into the greatest danger. He hardly knew what to do. Money he had not enough. Yet he did not dare leave the colony or he would lose his reputation as an honorable man. He labored with great energy to get food. Meal was ordered from Pennsylvania and food was sent to them from Virginia. In it all he pushed forward the founding of the colony, which was called New Berne. Land was measured, divided among them and houses were built on it.

Difficulties began with the Indians. Lawson urged Graffenried to drive them away, but he refused, wishing to live on friendly terms with them. One day a man from Berne cut down one of the two idols beside the Indian's altar, and he boasted then that he had destroyed the devil. But Graffenried did not approve of it, and the Indian com-

plained bitterly. This was the beginning of trouble. Graffenried now proceeded to buy this land, which he had already twice bought, from the Indians with powder and lead. Unfortunately this put into their hands the very instruments for the colony's destruction. The quarrel between Carp and Hyde for the governorship of North Carolina continued until Hyde was recognized as governor. All these things, however, were only preparing for a worse catastrophe.

In the fall of 1711 came the great massacre. Two of the Indian tribes, the Corees and Tuscarawas, had by this time become jealous of the intentions of the white men. Lawson, the surveyor general, together with Graffenried, went up the Neuse river with two Indians. Two negroes rowed the boat and one of the Indians led Graffenried's horse through the woods. The Indian who led the horse, went off to Catechna to tell the news of their coming. His sudden appearance brought out the whole village. Two of the Indians came armed to the shore of the river. Graffenried wanted to return, but Lawson caused a landing to be made. In a moment they were surrounded and taken captive. They were led through the woods to the Indian village. In the evening the Indians held a pow-wow to consider what was to be done with Graffenried and Lawson. The Indians decided to permit them to return, but the next day two strange Indians arrived and asked for a rehearing of the case. Lawson unfortunately got into con-

troversy with the chief of the Corees, when they were both attacked and bound. The Indians began their wild dance, and Graffenried and Lawson expected death. Graffenried succeeded in getting into communication with them through an Indian who understood English. The Tuscarawas Indians held an all-night meeting, and in the morning Graffenried was set free. Lawson was put to death most cruelly by having pieces of splinters driven into his flesh and set on fire. Graffenried saved his life by claiming to be king of the Palatines, and asking by what authority they would put a king to death, especially as he had committed no crime against them. He assured the Indians that he was not English, and had nothing to do with the encroachments on their territory, but that the Palatines were a peaceable people. He was finally freed after six weeks' bondage, but on condition that the Palatines would not take any more land, and also would remain neutral in any war between the Indians and English, which they afterwards did, much to the disgust of the English.

Meanwhile the Indians had gone on the war-path. They attacked New Berne on September 22, 1711. They entered the village under the guise of friendship, demanding provisions. Then pretending to be offended, they fell to killing. The carnage in that district lasted three days, the Indians destroying 130 settlers from Roanoke along the Pamlico Sound to the Neuse, of whom sixty and more were of the Swiss and Palatines around New Berne.

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Thus the early Reformed had their martyrs in the New World, for all the Swiss and many of the Palatines were Reformed. The governor of North Carolina called out the militia, 600 strong. They marched to the Indian village of Catechna, captured and destroyed it, killing and taking prisoners 900 men, women and children. Peace came then with the Coree tribe, but the Tuscarawas emigrated north and joined the Five Nations in the Middle States, thus making them the Six Nations.

Graffenried, set free by the Indians, with great difficulty made his way to New Berne through the woods. He found his colony virtually ruined, their houses having been destroyed ; and many of the colonists had gone away. He did what he could and kept the remainder together for 22 weeks, in constant fear of attack. But his own colonists turned against him, and the governor suspected him because he would not take sides against the Indians. In his great need and danger, and without food, it occurred to him to ask aid of Governor Hyde. He went to him and he never afterward returned to the colony. He then went to Virginia, where the governor, Spotswood, received him kindly. Finally his friend, Governor Hyde, died, and discouraged he left Virginia, Easter, 1713. He returned to Berne by way of London, where his former friend, the queen, had just died. So giving up hopes, he went back to Berne, where he arrived on December 2, 1713, but he found no welcome there. During his absence he had lost

his citizenship there, and every one seemed to have turned against him. On the death of his father in 1730, he inherited his property, and was made comfortable again. He died in 1743.

The impression generally made by American accounts of Graffenried is that he was a rascal, who swindled the Palatines and Swiss out of their lands in South Carolina (for Pollock afterwards took the lands from them, Graffenried having mortgaged himself to Pollock for 800 pounds. The British government, however, afterward indemnified them by giving them 10,000 acres, free of rent and taxes for ten years). But the last life of Graffenried, recently published at Berne, sets a higher character for him. According to it he did not so much deceive as he was himself deceived. Indeed it speaks of him as a religious man. He had been licensed, though a layman, by the Bishop of London to read service to the colonists. He probably was sincere, for he lost all of his fortune, and was doubtless the victim of untoward circumstances. Before his death, however, he lived to hear that the town of New Berne, which he had founded, had become quite a successful and prosperous town. The Reformed congregation that was there, has gone into the Presbyterian Church, but the colony will ever remain as an illustration of the sufferings of the early Reformed from the Indians.

Before leaving the south, another colony must be noticed, a small one however. While the English were

discussing what to do with the Palatines who had come to London, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, happened to be in London. He took some of the Palatines along with him on his return to Virginia, and founded a colony on the Rappahannock, called Germanna. After his retirement from office, he went to live among them, for he was very fond of them. (Some Germans came from Carolina, who were shipwrecked, April, 1714, in the Rappahannock river. He had them work at his furnace, and also used them to protect the frontier against the Indians.) In this colony was Rev. Henry Hoeger, at that time 75 years old. In 1717 a shipload of Germans were wrecked off the coast and sold by their captain (redemptioners we suppose) to Spotswood. These were reinforced some ten or fifteen years after Spotswood retired to Germanna, by Germans from Berks county, Pa., who founded Strasburg in the lower Shenandoah Valley, just over the mountains from Germanna. These German settlements were the beginnings of the churches which afterwards, as we shall see, so long and urgently appealed to the coetus of Pennsylvania for ministers.

CHAPTER II.

THE PERIOD BEFORE CONGREGATIONAL ORGANIZATION (1710—1725).

SECTION I.

THE DUTCH PREPARATION.

The Dutch were the forerunners of the German Reformed in Pennsylvania. In 1655 they captured New Sweden, or Delaware, from the Swedes. After the Dutch occupation of Delaware, a Dutch Reformed church was started at New Amstel (as the Dutch called what is now New Castle), Delaware. In 1654 Rev. Mr. Polhemus, who had been a minister at Itamarca in Brazil, passed through Delaware on his way to New York, and founded a Dutch Reformed congregation. From 1657 to 1659 Rev. Everardus Welius was its pastor. He was a gifted young man of learning and piety, whose early death was much deplored. Then the congregation called Rev. Everardus Hadson, and he was ordained (1662) in Holland in order to go to that congregation, but on his passage over he died (1664).

The congregation seems to have been without a pastor till 1676, when Peter Tesschenmaeker, who had been in

Guiana, came to New Castle. The Delaware congregation greatly longed for a minister, and asked the Dutch clergy of New York to organize themselves into a classis and ordain him. The governor also wanted it done in order to strengthen that colony. The Dutch ministers of New York were inclined to do it. So on Sept. 20, 1679, the governor authorized the ministers to examine and ordain him. The four Dutch ministers took this responsibility on themselves, without waiting for permission from the Classis of Amsterdam in Holland, and ordained him. It seems they hesitated at first to do this, as he differed from them in theology. The Reformed Church of Holland at that time was divided between Voetians and Cocceians. The former were high Calvinists, while the latter, though claiming to be Calvinists too, were more liberal. The latter were the federal school, which made the covenants the central principle in theology. The New York ministers, being all Cocceians, hesitated about ordaining Tesschenmaeker, as he was a Voetian.* This ordination was afterward ratified in Holland. But two years later, some time after 1682, he left Delaware for Staten Island, and afterwards went to Schenectady, where he was finally massacred by the Indians, Feb. 8, 1690.

The congregation at New Castle then seems to have had no regular pastor, but Rev. Rudolph Varick, when

* If the arrangement had been reversed and they had been Voetians, they never would have done it, but being Cocceians, and therefore more liberal in spirit, they did so at length.

he was compelled to flee from the usurpations of Governor Leisler, of New York, because he had so severely denounced him, went to New Castle and supplied the pulpit in 1687. After that date there is no mention of the existence of the congregation.* This congregation afterwards became Presbyterian. Indeed it was the forerunner of the Presbyterian denomination, which was founded by Rev. Francis Mackemie in that peninsula in 1699, as well as of the German Reformed Coetus of Pennsylvania. From these facts we see that when William Penn landed in Pennsylvania in 1682, there was a Reformed congregation at New Castle. Although this isolated Reformed congregation never was organically connected with the German Reformed churches of Pennsylvania, which were founded later, yet it reveals the tendency of the Dutch Reformed to settle westward from New York. This conquest of Delaware led the Dutch to settle New Jersey. Some passed over into Pennsylvania, and thus founded their congregation in Bucks county, Pa., whose pastor organized what may be called the first German Reformed congregation in Pennsylvania.

For in 1710 Rev. Paul Van Vlecq became the pastor of this congregation at Neshaminy, Pa. He had been a schoolmaster at Kinderhook, 1702. Colonel Nicolson ordered the Dutch ministers of New York, Du Bois and

* For these data we refer to the excellent *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, by Rev. E. T. Corwin, D. D., third edition.

Antonides, to ordain him as a chaplain to the Dutch troops who were ordered to Canada. They plead to be relieved of doing this, as the Church of Holland had not given them that authority, and so Rev. Bernard Freeman (who had become the tool of the government, and was trying to introduce episcopacy into the Dutch churches) ordained him contrary to the wish of the Classis of Amsterdam, which expressed great grief at its irregularity. Van Vlecq was pastor of the Dutch congregations at Samine (Neshaminy), Bensalem and Germantown. He organized them, May 20, 1710.*

Soon after Van Vlecq became pastor of this Dutch congregation in Buks county, as the Dutch called it then, he began preaching also to the Germans, who were then beginning to increase rapidly in Pennsylvania. On May 29, 1710, he visited Skippack and baptized 16 children, and on June 4, 1710, he visited White Marsh and organized what may be called the first German Reformed congregation in Pennsylvania, although there evidently were a number of Dutch Reformed in it. On that date he ordained Hans Hendrick Meels and Evert Ten Heuzen as elders, and Isaac Dilbeck and William Dewees as deacons. On December 25, six months later, he ordained Evert Ten Heuzen and Isaac Dilbeck as elders, and Wil-

* Bensalem was reorganized as a Presbyterian congregation in 1719, but the Neshaminy church still belongs to the Dutch Reformed, and now contains two of their congregations—North and South Hampton.

liam Dewees and Jan Aweigt as deacons. In 1711 the congregation consisted of 15 persons.

Van Vlecq seems to have remained in that region until 1712 or 1713, and in 1715 to have left America. After his departure the congregation at Neshaminy was supplied at intervals by Frelinghuysen, the Dutch Reformed minister on the Raritan. The organization made by the Dutch at White Marsh soon went to pieces, and the congregation was reorganized by Bœhm in 1725, as we shall see. But the new consistory had in it one name that linked it to the early Dutch consistory, namely that of William Dewees.

Dewees deserves special mention. He was one of the most prominent men in that district. He was the founder of the second paper mill in the colonies, built in 1710, on the west side of the Wissahickon Creek. He was a most godly man, the pillar of the little congregation at White Marsh. As it was too weak to build a church for itself, it was accustomed to hold its worship in his house. So this congregation, like the early apostolic churches and like so many of the other early Reformed congregations, was "the church of the house." After his death the congregation went to pieces, and its members were incorporated into the neighboring congregations of Germantown and Witpen. But the congregation was again revived in this century, and is now located at Fort Washington, Pa.

Thus the Dutch organization was the nucleus for the beginning of the German organization later. And thus

the Dutch in New York, through their colonies in Delaware and Pennsylvania, were the direct forerunners of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

REV. SAMUEL GULDIN (OR GULDI).

If Peter Minuit was the secular forerunner of our Church in this country, Rev. Samuel Guldin was the spiritual forerunner. Not that Minuit was not spiritual; for he was a religious man, but he represented the laity and the political element of our Church in American history. He stands out for what the laity here have done for the Church, and his life was a prophecy of what our Reformed faith has done for America, for it was political Calvinism that founded the freedom of these United States. Like Minuit, Guldin was a forerunner only. His work was not political, but distinctively religious. He represents the Evangelism that afterward made our Church spread so widely. It is true, he had no hand in the organization of our Church, for he never belonged to the coetus (our first synod in Pennsylvania). Still his work should not be minimized on that account. His earnest preaching prepared the way for organization. He has the honor of being the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania, as far as we know, and he did a very valuable work in preaching to the Germans (who were as sheep without shepherds), in baptizing their children and

administering the Lord's Supper to them. Their religious opportunities were so few that the coming of a Reformed minister among any of their communities was a spiritual uplift to them.

He was born at Berne, Switzerland. His ancestors were, however, from St. Gall, his grandfather becoming a citizen of Berne, November 28, 1633, on the payment of 100 crowns. His father's name was Hans Joachim Guldi, which was the original form of the name, and his mother's was Anna Maria Koch. He was baptized April 8, 1664. His sister, Anna Maria, was baptized March 19, 1662, and Anna Magdalena, January 18, 1667. He was educated at Berne, entering the university there in 1679, and became a Swiss Pietist.

The story of his conversion to God is quite interesting. In his Apology he says : " There were four of us, Samuel Guldin, Jacob Dachs (not Kœnig),* Samuel Shumaker and Christopher Lutz, who in 1689 determined to make a trip from Berne to Geneva. We resolved to make it a distinctively Christian journey, to avoid the quarrels (which are common among students), and to gather heavenly treasure. While at Geneva Lutz became sick. During his sickness he was not only brought to a profound knowledge of his spiritual condition, but we all, who before could not agree, became so united in spirit that we have always afterward remained faithful to each other. This

* " Bilder aus der Geschichte der Protestantischen Kirche," by Trechsel, page 18.

happened at Geneva, in the seat of Calvin. Then we journeyed together to Lausanne, and ever after met daily in the morning and evening to worship God."

After their return three of them went to Holland, Lutz remaining behind on account of indisposition. On this trip Shumaker came into the severest temptation, supposing that he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, and continued in this state of mind until after they traveled homeward again. On Guldin's return to Berne, August, 1692, he became pastor at Stettlen, a league east from Berne, but still he was not satisfied with his religious state. Full conversion, the blessed forgiveness of sin, the knowledge of Christ's finished work—these he did not yet understand. On Christmas, 1692, his companion, Shumaker, had been converted from darkness to light, and wrote about it to Guldin. This stirred him up the more. He became so dissatisfied with himself and his religious experience, that he determined to give up the ministry. On the day that he was about doing this he experienced the change for which he had been praying. Like the Apostle John he could tell the exact hour when first he found the Lord. He thus describes it: "On the fourth of August, 1693, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the light of faith arose and was born within me. In that hour all my difficulties and scruples passed away, so that I was never afterwards affected by them. And I began to preach with new power, so that all my congregation saw that a change had taken place in my soul."

His ministry now became remarkably successful, for his preaching was with unction and power. He no longer preached dry dogmas in a cold and lifeless manner, as was only too common from the pulpits of Berne in those days of dead orthodoxy, but he preached Bible truths, illuminated with his own personal experience. Great crowds came to hear him, even from other parishes. He became too great a preacher for so small a country congregation. So providence promoted him. He had been there a little over a year, when on December 21, 1696, he was elected to one of the highest positions in the canton, as assistant minister at the cathedral in the city of Berne. This was considered a great victory by his pietistic friends. On the day of his election Lutz wrote a joyful letter, which contains these words (playing on his name): "Golden tidings. This day our golden brother Guldin was elected assistant by the majority of the votes of the council. May He anoint the man whom He has ordained. How it will sound in the ears of our enemies. The leader of the sects is now a pastor in the city, and a member of the ministerium and council. Thus the stone which the builder rejected has become the headstone of the corner. Inform the brethren, so that they may praise God and help us fight for the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ." Unfortunately this letter fell into the hands of the authorities and was the beginning of later trouble.

Opposition soon showed itself. The worldly element

in the Church has never been friendly to the earnest gospel of evangelism, because it makes them uncomfortable in their sins. This is especially true, when, as at Berne, the Church was united to the state, which meant the predominance in the Church of the secular over the spiritual. The conservative ministers in the canton, too, began to take a position against Pietism. Dead orthodoxy objected to the new life that was coming into the Church. Guldin's increasing popularity as a preacher alarmed these enemies. Unfortunately one of these young Pietists, Koenig, was extreme in his views, preaching premillenarianism, which was then considered heretical by the strictly orthodox Reformed. Koenig also several times sharply criticised the government. Personalities also entered into the controversy. Bachman, the dekan or head of the church of the canton, and the leading minister at the cathedral of the city of Berne (whose assistant Guldin was), bitterly opposed the new movement. Some said it was because he was jealous of Guldin's popularity as a preacher.

As a result of all this, Guldin, Koenig and Lutz were ordered to appear before the great council of the canton. They were condemned and ordered to sign the Association oath, which was a new oath of the canton directed against the doctrinal views of the school of Saumur in France, and also against the practices of pietism. The ministers and schoolmasters of the canton were all required to sign

it, so as to purge themselves of the taint of heresy as over against the old orthodoxy of the Reformed.

Guldin and his friends of course could not sign this oath. So they were condemned, June 9, 1699. Koenig was the one most severely punished, for he was banished from the canton, while Guldin was simply dismissed from his position at the cathedral.

The time had not yet come, as it did later, for the Berne church to recognize Pietism as an integral part of the Reformed faith. This it began to do when Koenig was recalled (1730) as professor and afterwards began preaching. Lutz, his companion in Pietism, remained in the canton of Berne to splendidly vindicate the success of Pietism at his country parish of Amsoldingen by his open air services and evangelism.

Dachs, one of Guldin's early companions in Pietism, was elected dekan or head of the Church of the canton in 1732, occupying the very position which Bachman, who so bitterly opposed it, had held. And to-day the Berne church in its Evangelical Society, which is doing such excellent work, emphasizes Pietism as a part of the Church's life, over against the rationalism prevalent in many parts of the canton.

Guldin, however, did not wait for this final vindication of Pietism. There has hitherto been much uncertainty about Guldin's movements, both in Europe and in Pennsylvania. Fortunately the facts are gradually coming to

light, and the discovery of his ocean diary clears up most of the difficulties. After he was dismissed at Berne he remained for a time at Rufenacht, two hours east of Berne, on the property of Mr. Von Muralt. He was then appointed pastor at Boltigen, a mountain parish south of the city of Berne, in 1701, but he left before he was there a year. His predecessor, Grimm, left and his successor, Mauslin, came within the same year, and his brief pastorate was between them. Before his installation he was dismissed. In 1710 he came to America, having with him his wife and four children—Samuel, Maria Catharine, Christoffel and Emanuel Frederick. After his arrival in Pennsylvania he wrote a letter, December 1, 1710, from Rocksburg (Roxboro), near Philadelphia. This letter is so interesting, because it is the first letter of a Reformed minister in Pennsylvania, and also because its description of ocean travel reveals the peculiar dangers to which our forefathers were subject, that we give in full that part of it which describes his trip across the ocean :

“I begin by saying that when it was the intention to sail on the 6th of June (O. S.) it was postponed in order to insure greater safety, since some preferred to cross the North Sea with the Russian fleet as convoy, hence it took place on the 20th (O. S.), or the 1st of July (N. S.), and on the 5th (July) following we sailed from London. At the very beginning of the journey, when we seemed to be out of all danger, being for a long time with a convoy, we experienced more dangers and difficulties, and saw

more enemies than afterwards, when we had left the fleet and went alone under the divine guidance ; for God wanted to show us that we should have more confidence in Him than trust in the help and protection of any creature. Within the first hour after our departure our ship ran into a little boat, by which a boy was drowned. Afterwards it ran into another ship which seemed to be broken in pieces, in fact both ships were damaged, the corners being knocked from our ship. In consequence of this our captain was arrested by a warship on the 8th (of July), and another captain was given to us at Gravesend. The captain otherwise was a very fine and honest gentleman, but since we depended too much on him, and he, moreover, did not do everything rightly, because he tore his name and signature unjustly from the agreement of a certain man, he was removed from the ship, and hence we had to give up this false hope.

“ On the 12th, (of July) in the evening, we came at last, under adverse wind, to Harwich, from where we started early on the 13th, sailing after the Russian fleet, till on the same day, Sunday evening, we reached the fleet. On the 14th (of July) we sailed with the same. But on the 15th and 16th there was such a storm and contrary wind, that a few ships lost their masts, and on the 17th we had to return to Harwich. During this time many, yea, even the most, took sick and could eat no more meat, since the meat was not only very strongly salted, but also cooked in salt water. From that time till we came hither to the sweet water, I and my children never tasted any meat during the whole journey, otherwise we would probably not have escaped without some

sickness, or remained so healthy. On the 20th (of July) we left Harwich again, arriving at Newcastle on the morning of the 24th, with very good wind, where we found the ship of our countrymen who wanted to go to Carolina. During this time there was again a violent storm, so that on the 21st during the night our ship and another one struck against each other, whereby both came into great danger. In this way human help and trust caused us again additional anxiety and danger.

“The same day on which we arrived at Newcastle, we continued our journey, as the wind was very favorable. Whereupon on the 25th, (of July) in the evening, we saw seven French warships with white flags, and as a result everybody was in great alarm during the whole night. There one could hear how the thoughts of men become apparent, and where there was a confidence in God or in creatures. One could then hear all kinds of statements, they had known that seven warships had been equipped at Dunkirk, to wait for the Russian fleet, and if they would attack us, the whole fleet would be lost, since there were only four warships with us. Soon they said they regretted not to have had their goods insured (which could have been done at London at a certain sum, by which one is compensated for all his loss), and again they trusted to be able to flee, since the ship could sail so well. But of trust in the Lord there was no evidence in many, yet nobody thought of resistance, especially since our ship carried no gun or ammunition. Meanwhile I thought how easy it was not only by prayer to disperse the enemies, but also remembered what the Lord said to Israel through Moses : Ex. 14, 13, ‘Do not fear, stand firm and you

will see the salvation of the Lord. As you have seen the Egyptians this day, you will henceforth see them no more.' And I also reminded some of this.

"It happened here in the same way that on the morning of the 26th of July, and during the following days, we saw the ships no more, a real pillar of the smoke from the Lord—I mean a thick and dense fog covering us for several days, separating us from the other ships so far that they neither saw us again nor we them. Moreover another wind arose, enabling us to change our course, hence they did not know what way we had taken. Thus we saw each other no more, although they ran ahead of us, waiting for our approach at another place, where we intended to separate from the fleet, as will soon appear. On the evening of the 25th of July, when the Russian fleet left us, we began with four other ships which were all bound for America, to sail in a westerly direction under the divine guidance and convoy, and early on the 29th of July the coast of Scotland came into view, where through a strong wind we would almost have been thrown on cliffs, but the day came to our help and on the 30th we had the same experience. Hence on our way from Harwich to this place we experienced nothing but storms and dangers, from which the Lord saved us. In such a fog as a pillar of smoke, which continued from the 26th to the 29th of July, we passed by day and night through many cliffs under favorable wind, leaving Scotland at our left and other islands at our right hand, so that on the morning of the 30th of July we saw the island Festland on our left and some others on our right as the last land. At the same time four of the above mentioned warships, which

had waited for us at these places, passed us, so that we neither heard nor saw anything of them, but simply received the reports from some sloops which they brought to us. We heard it with great pleasure, as we were a good distance ahead of them and nearly out of danger. Here then we were upon the open sea or the great ocean, where we had from the beginning a good wind, so that in the 2-3 weeks we had made half of the journey.

“In the middle of our trip we had many calms, or contrary winds. But at the end we met the best wind, which brought us into the land and into the harbor. From the morning of the 30th of July, when we came to this place, under a clear and pleasant sky, we met another, but good southwesterly wind, which blew so strongly that in one hour we made eight miles, and as a result we covered a good distance, losing the land from our sight. On the same evening we saw as on the North Sea, every time before the storm, the fishes called porpoises, which had taught us from experience that a storm would soon follow, as it also happened at this occasion, enabling us indeed to continue our fast sailing, yet compelling us to take in the high sails, and sail only with the lower ones. This wind continued yet the following two days, namely the 31st of July and the 1st of August (N. S.) This day about noon we met a ship, whereupon the four ships which carried guns were immediately alarmed, but ours prepared itself to flee. But as it proved to be no hostile ship, soon everything became quiet again. On the same evening the wind changed and became southwest, through which we made five English miles an hour. The storm continued on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of August.

On the 3rd and 7th of August we saw some fishes, which threw up the water very high. On the 5th we had almost a perfect calm. The 6th of August in the evening a southwesterly wind started up, continuing on the 7th, 8th and 9th of August. During that time two ships left us, one of which went to Jamaica, the other to Guiana, in a southerly course. But the third, which was bound for Carolina, remained, so that we saw it for some days only a little, but afterwards no more.

“On the 8th and 12th of August we saw again a large number of fishes, called porpoises, which were soon followed by a storm, which, however, did not last very long. On the 14th of August, while the wind was very good, we left the fourth and last ship, which went to New England, and hence we sailed alone with good hope and under divine guidance. The great storm which we had was on the 16th of August, when we saw again early in the morning a large number of the above mentioned storm-fishes. A strange wind was blowing at the time followed by a still stronger one in the afternoon, which increased continually, so that we had to take down not only the upper sails, but also the lower ones. Finally in the evening of the 17th of August we could only keep half a sail hoisted. The rudder had to be tied securely, and during the whole night we had to leave the ship to the mercy of wind and waves. The waves were then like mountains, and the ship was sometimes so high that we thought that we would be capsized, and again it went down so deep that it appeared as though we would be hurled into the depths. And yet with all that I and my children had no fear, but looked at the waves from the deck of the ship. On the 18th of

August came a strong east wind, that we could again cover a great distance of eight miles in one hour. This wind lasted the 19th and the 20th of August, followed by several days of calm, during which time we fished occasionally and caught also several dolphins, part of which we received. On the 2nd of September, we saw many fishes jumping into the air higher than a spear, and in the afternoon many very large fishes, swimming in imposing order and succession one after the other, upon which a good wind followed, so that we made every hour five miles.

“ On the 6th of September a splendid northwest wind began to blow, which continued during the three following days, on the 7th, 8th and 9th of September. On the 9th we saw several large fishes following each other like cows. On the 10th and 12th of September we met a very contrary wind, which compelled us to change our course frequently. On the 12th of September began the last and best wind which we had during the journey, so that we made up to nine miles during an hour. This wind continued for the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th of September. It enabled us not only on the evening of the 15th to touch the bottom with our sounding line, 15 fathoms deep, that is, 30 English or 45 German yards, but also on the morning of the 16th of September to see land for the first time, with a great and general joyousness that the Lord had happily thus far helped us. On the same day, the wind being favorable, we entered the Delaware so far that we were safe against all pirates, finding the water not more than 6 fathoms deep, and hence we were not able to continue, as the night had long fallen upon us. But while we thought we were beyond all danger, we had to

experience another trial, that we might not place our confidence outside of God, but always learn to depend on Him, for at noon of the 17th of September we started from that place with the tide of the ocean. In seeking to get deeper water we soon ran upon a sand bank, which kept us busy during the whole afternoon to get our ship off from this place, but finally we fortunately succeeded, yet had to stay there during the night. On the 18th of September we obtained a pilot of the river to conduct us up the Delaware, and with him came the first fruits of the land—apples and peaches.

“On the 20th of September we arrived at Newcastle, where some of us went on land for the first time, being received very well and kindly by some people, who gave us not only to eat and drink, but also gave us enough apples and peaches to take back to the ship, and as many as we could carry, all gratuitously. On the 21st of September, as we continued, others came to us on the ship, who invited the captain and all the people to a dinner. He allowed some who had been ashore, to go with him. Others brought large sacks of apples on the ship to divide them among the people. The same happened when some of us left the ship on the 22nd of September, going some miles on foot, till we saw Philadelphia for the first time from a distance and came into the city early on the 23rd of September, where the ship also arrived safely at noon. On the 24th my family and others disembarked and were received by good friends into their houses for several days, free and without money, and were shown much love, and where we stayed to the 27th of September, when a Christian friend, of my countrymen and relatives, procured a

good house for us, eight miles from the city, among good friends, which he had given us for the winter, or as long as we need it.

“Thus the long and tedious journey has come to its desired end. It has taken us eleven weeks from London to Philadelphia, but seven weeks from one land to the other, whence we saw land for the last and the first time again. Three weeks we spent with the Russian fleet along the coasts of England and Scotland, and eight days on the Delaware. We would have finished the journey much sooner, if at the beginning we would not have waited so long for the other ships, and had not sailed with but half the sails. Thus the Lord has brought us hither without hinderance, in great happiness, not one of us having perished or having incurred any danger or damage.

“Now we live in the house of a dear friend, where the dear friend has lived for nine years, and which after the death of Kelpius, he has left our friend Matthai, but he to us. There we rest from our labor, the rest having become very sweet. Close by I have bought the first plantation I have seen, where we shall begin to live next Spring. The place is called Rocksburg, or fortress of rocks, as the whole country lies upon many rocks. Thus our Ark has come to rest on a mountain as my seal-ring (motto?) reads. Thus God has fulfilled all the signs of his divine will and pleasure towards me and my journey, which I laid before Him with mouth and heart, and firmly trusted in Him, as I have gladly confessed this hope before many in writing as well as in words, even in opposition to many objections, which for that reason were raised against me. But God and faith prevailed, and no

danger was too great, for everything is possible for him who believes."

He closes the letter with thanks to God that his wife and all his children came over safely. On the other ships that had been with them many had died, among them the beloved Moritz, whose ship was afterward shipwrecked off the coast of New York, although all on it were saved. He says he was glad that he had not arrived earlier, because of the great heat of Pennsylvania in summer. (In a later letter of 1734 he gives an account of the great heat in summer, so that men fell dead in the streets from it.) He closes with a description of Pennsylvania, of its land, fruits, the cost of living and the civil and religious liberty.

In 1718 he published his book, "A Defence of the unjustly suspected Pietists of Berne." This Defence (or Apology) consists of two parts. 1. The Relation, which contains thirty pages, and which is the indictment brought against the Pietists, together with the decision of the court against them. 2. The Apology, covering thirty-eight pages. The former is a legal document, prefaced by a glorification of the Berne church for its orthodoxy to the Reformed faith, especially since the reformation. Then it gives the charges against Guldin and his Pietistic companions. They were :

1. The circulation of heterodox, mystical, that is, pietistic books, as of Weigel, Poiret, Leade and Boehme. Guldin was charged with having received some of them

as a present, and with not having warned the people against such books.

2. Doctrinal errors as perfectionism—that a person can become perfectly sinless in this life; also that a Christian may rise to such an experience, where his prayers become all thanksgivings, so that he will not need to pray any more in words; also that an unworthy person should not come to the Lord's Supper; also that a person could not become a minister without an internal call.

3. Premillenarianism—that Christ would come visibly to earth before the millenium. This it held to be contrary to the Swiss confessions.

4. A new method of preaching different from what was taught in the schools and practised in the pulpit. He was charged with using in his sermons the common dialect of the people, instead of the stiff style peculiar to the clergy. This it claimed detracted from the dignity of the pulpit.

5. Crowding the churches. They would draw people from other parishes, thus interfering with congregations and profaning the Sabbath by their journeys. One of them is mentioned as drawing large crowds from the country into the city to hear him. (Most ministers in this 19th century would be glad to be charged with this sin of crowded churches. It would be considered to their credit rather than their hurt, as in Guldin's case.)

6. Tremblings. Some of the congregations had come

under so much feeling that they trembled like the early Quakers in England. This, the opponents held, was contrary to the word of God and the custom of the Reformed Church. Guldin, it seems, laid himself open to condemnation, because he had expressed a doubt whether trembling was a work of God or of Satan. The government held that he ought to have spoken boldly against this, or else kept silence altogether.

7. Prayer-meetings. It objected to these because they were held without the authorization of the state authorities, and especially as some Anabaptists, who were ostracised in Berne, were present on one occasion.

8. Correspondence with foreign Pietists.

The Apology or Defence of Guldin is a personal defence of himself, and yet at the same time a plea for experimental piety. He denies the charges and defends the Pietists. He begins by stating that the Church needed a new, a second reformation; that as the first reformation was a reaction against the formalism of the Catholic Church, a new reformation was needed against the formalism in the Protestant Church; since dead orthodoxy had come, like a dry rot, into the Reformed Church of Berne. In replying to the charges he says that he never received his Pietism from others, but from above. He then describes at length the journey which he with three others took to Geneva when he was a student, and also his later conversion while in the ministry. He declares that when he

went abroad he did not come into more contact with Pietism than he had found in Berne.

In regard to books he declares his right of freedom to read Leade's book, "Heavenly Clouds," if he wished. But he confesses that when he read it he found much that to him was very dark. He declared the forbidding to read such books by the Berne clergy to be a great injustice.

In regard to false doctrine he says there can be a perfection in this life that is entirely scriptural, if it is properly understood. But he denies that the Pietists held that the fully sanctified did not need to pray. He holds that Premillenarianism is scriptural, but it was evident the millenium had not yet come. As regards church discipline or keeping the unworthy away from the Lord's table, that was clearly taught in the Heidelberg Catechism, and the authorities were, therefore, wrong in charging him with that as a sin. As to preaching in popular and not pulpit language, he says that was what Christ did. As to tremblings he replied that such tremblings were scriptural, like the struggles of the demoniacs in Christ's time. They were the signs of the efforts of the evil spirit to retain control over our spirits. And as to prayer meetings, they were justified in Scripture by Christ and the apostles. As to correspondence with Laub and Locher, he replied that it was not true since his student days. He says that Pietism was nothing but active faith and living Christianity.

In a word, he declares their decision in dismissing him

and forbidding him to preach in the pulpits was unjust and false. He says that in Holland the arbitrary action of Berne against himself and the Pietists, as well as their persecution of the Anabaptists, had been severely criticised. He rejoiced that now he lived in the free air of Pennsylvania, and not under the aristocratic tyranny of Berne. He evidently acted wisely in removing to another land, from which he could rebuke his native land by a comparison with its freedom, and thus shame Berne for its narrowness. It is hardly necessary in closing this review of Guldin's book to say that Berne has since learned the lesson he taught. Pietism is permitted. The aristocracy of Berne was overthrown in the early part of this century, and now the Berne Church is only too liberal in allowing heresy, as many of its ministry and even some of its theological professors are rationalists.

In America Guldin found a wide field for labor. There were many Germans and Swiss in Pennsylvania, and no Reformed ministers but himself. His evangelistic spirit found a wide opportunity here. He preached for the Reformed when opportunity offered, gathering them together in houses, barns or groves, for there were as yet no Reformed church buildings. After the first church was built at Germantown in 1719, he seems to have occasionally preached there. Böhm says in his report of 1739 to Holland that "at Germantown old Guldi occasionally preached." His home seems to have been at various

places—at Roxboro, Oley and Philadelphia. At Oley he seems to have led the quiet life of a retired farmer, though still preaching. He might have become the founder of the German Reformed Church in the United States if he had wished, but he does not seem to have been an organizer. It was left for two pious schoolmasters, Boehm and Tempelman, to do that work. They began very early by holding religious services, and one of them (Boehm) went farther than the other, and fully organized his churches, and so became the founder of the Reformed in Pennsylvania. Still Guldin's influence was doubtless a beneficent one, as it provided the colonists with some preaching, and prevented the earlier rising of the sects to power. He became later a tower of strength to the Reformed, as we shall see, in the Moravian controversy. He died at Philadelphia, December 31, 1745, aged eighty-one years.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

THE EARLY LIFE OF BŒHM.

The Bœhm family had lived at Dorheim in Hesse. The father of John Philip Bœhm was Rev. Philip Lewis Bœhm, who was born 1645, at Dorheim. In 1665 he attended the Reformed gymnasium, at Hanau, and matriculated at Marburg University, August 27, 1666. He became pastor at Hochstadt, near Hanau, 1680-1688, and was again there 1691-1700. From 1709-1713 he was pastor at Wachenbuchen. On January 18, 1717, he sent a petition for support to the consistory of Hanau, because he had become blind. This was granted a year and a half later, and five florins were given him yearly. He died in 1725.

His son, John Philip Bœhm, was born at Hochstadt, and baptized there, November 25, 1683. He had an older sister, named Margaret, born 1681, and twin brothers older than himself, named John Daniel and Clement Lewis. The place where he was educated for a schoolmaster has not yet been found, although his older brothers attended school at Hanau. From 1708-1715 he taught school at Worms.

When Bœhm taught at Worms the Reformed congre-

gation was comparatively new. The Reformed had not been permitted, by the Lutherans, to hold religious services in the town until 1699. Before that they had their church service at Neuhausen. But the terrible destruction of the city by the French, in 1689, had so depopulated it that the city government was inclined to grant concessions to other denominations so as to gain colonists. So on June 13, 1699, the city council and the Reformed drew up an agreement, by which the former gave the Reformed permission to have services in the city, while the latter, for this concession, promised they would never seek any public office, or demand any more rights than had been granted to them. The first Reformed service was held in the town in the open air, June 25, 1699, and the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the newly built church, January 1, 1700, with 250 communicants. The congregation, however, was not strong, numbering, in 1714, eighty-three members. Its seal was a table, on which a candle was standing, which was being lighted by a torch.

Bœhm was the successor of Jacob de Malade, as school-master, and was elected to that position March 11, 1708. He soon found that he had bitter opponents in the congregation. It seems that one of the elders, the most prominent man in the consistory, Christopher Schmidt, had had another candidate for Bœhm's position, named Matthias Diel, of Kesselstadt. The latter's defeat made him Bœhm's constant and implacable enemy. Against him Bœhm defended himself vigorously.



HOCHSTADT NEAR HANAU (the church in which Behm was baptized is in the centre of the picture).



THE REFORMED CHURCH AT WORMS (in whose school Behm taught).

The first open rupture occurred in 1710, in reference to the baptismal fees. The German custom was that the schoolmaster (who also acted as sexton), received the baptismal fees. (Böhm's salary was 100 gulden the first year, and if satisfactory, 100 rixdollars later on, with the baptismal fees as perquisites.) In March, 1710, Schmidt proposed that the baptismal fees be put into the alms fund of the church. Böhm naturally objected to this breach of the contract made with him. The pastor, John Casper Cruciger, afterwards a member of the Reformed consistory at Heidelberg, sided with Böhm, as did the majority of the consistory. The consistory divided on the subject, six (the pastor and five others,) being in favor of Böhm, and Schmidt, the president, with three others, against him. So this then was not accepted either by the minister, consistory or people. Schmidt became angered when his proposition was not accepted, and he set about making things uncomfortable for Böhm. He had his friends in the consistory, one of whom, named Basserman, became his willing tool. Schmidt persuaded Basserman to take the baptismal money at the next opportunity and put it in the alms box. So on May 14, 1711, when the child of the pastor was baptized, and one of the sponsors laid the baptismal fee on the table, Basserman went up and took it away in spite of the protests of those who were present. He repeated this several times, until on Monday after Pentecost fifteen members lodged complaint against him before

the consistory. Bœhm also complained there, not only about the baptismal fees, but because Basserman had withheld his salary for eleven weeks, at which Basserman became very angry and abusive.

As Bœhm could get no redress from the consistory, he appealed to the city council, July 6, 1711. His appeal was signed by the members of the church, who wished him to receive the fees. The council gave reply on July 17, that until the question was finally decided, the old custom should remain and Bœhm should receive the fees. But Schmidt continued taking the fees away from Bœhm, as he had done before. On August 2 he took the fee, although it was wrapped up in paper, with Bœhm's name written on it. And when Bœhm called his attention to the decision of the city council, he became as furious as Basserman. The strife was kept up for several months. Bœhm kept appealing, and the council kept giving decisions, but Schmidt kept on defying them. Finally, on November 2, 1711, they came to an agreement that the giving of baptismal fees was left optional with the people. In this agreement there was a clause which required Schmidt to give up the account books to the congregation. This he refused to do. He treated the minister just as he had treated Bœhm, and there resulted a long conflict between the minister and himself, in which he pursued the same tactics, but was finally defeated.

Matters now remained quiet for three years, until sud-

denly Schmidt found another opportunity to attack Bœhm. According to the constitution of the congregation it was the duty of the deacons to provide the communion bread and bring it to the schoolmaster, who was to cut it into pieces and place it on the communion table for the services. The communion was to be celebrated on August 5, 1714. Christopher Erb, a baker, was to provide the bread. He sent it on Saturday to Bœhm's house. Bœhm's wife received it and put it away in the cellar. Bœhm was not at home at the time, and so did not give it any attention till the next morning, when, on trying to cut it, he found it too brittle to cut into slices. He therefore called to the minister, who lived next door, to know what to do. The latter said he was too busy to attend to the matter, and as it was the deacons' duty to look after it, he advised him to notify Erb. Bœhm then sent to Erb for another loaf of bread. The latter sent him one just as brittle as the last, which he could no more cut than the former loaf. In desperation he at last cut enough rye bread, and it was used at the communion. Schmidt, who had not been in church for nineteen months, or to communion for four years, saw in this an opportunity to persecute Bœhm. On August 29 he informed the pastor that the consistory would like to hold a meeting, at which he should not be present. Bœhm's friends in the consistory were also not invited. The remainder, a minority of the consistory (only four in number), held a meeting and constituted them-

selves a committee of investigation. They even had the audacity to borrow paper and ink from Bœhm's house, when they proposed to investigate and try him. Erb was the first witness, and Bœhm was then called in to testify. The four members then drew up a report. They then went through the congregation, and when they had the matter sufficiently stirred up, they asked the pastor to call a congregational meeting, September 9, after the service. Cruciger tried to dissuade them, but they insisted. When Cruciger had retired, Schmidt opened the meeting with his report of investigation. His partisans made a number of speeches in favor of Bœhm's dismissal. Some of the better members were so disgusted at the spirit of the meeting that they left. When the vote was taken, Schmidt declared Bœhm was dismissed. The vote was a doubtful one. This was the more likely, as Schmidt's adherents went about after the meeting to other members asking them to give their votes against Bœhm. But at any rate Schmidt claimed that the congregation had dismissed Bœhm. On Tuesday he notified Bœhm that the congregation had discharged him, and demanded that he vacate the school-house within six weeks.

But they had not reckoned on their host. Bœhm, who always was a vigorous polemist when necessary, surprised them by saying: "In the first place, I do not accept my discharge from you. I demand that it be given in writing, with the reasons for such action stated in full, because

I shall lay the whole matter before the city council. Moreover you claim that you act in the name of the congregation, which must first be determined." At the next midweek meeting matters come to a climax. Bœhm went to Cruciger in the morning to get the hymns for the service. The latter told him that the deacons had been with him, and had in the name of the congregation requested him not to allow Bœhm to lead the singing any longer. Bœhm asked Cruciger whether he as pastor forbade him to lead the singing. Cruciger replied, "No." So Bœhm went to church, and took his usual place. When, after the bells had been rung, he rose to read the Scriptures (for it was customary for the reader to begin service with reading of a chapter), and had not read many words, some one arose and in the name of the congregation told him to cease, as he had been discharged, Bœhm replied: "I have not received a legal dismissal, and I do not accept it now." Then another member came up and closed the Bible before him, and would have taken it away, if Bœhm had not held it with both hands. The result was a tumult among the congregation between Bœhm's friends and enemies.

On September 14 Bœhm laid the whole matter before the council of the city, who gave him a favorable decision. The consistory not taking any notice of this, he again laid before the council a long statement of the whole matter, October 12, 1714. He demanded that his enemies be compelled to give their reasons for his dismissal in full, so

he might reply to them. After another delay and repeated decrees of the city council, Schmidt and his party finally gave their reasons. The charges were mainly four, which Bœhm amply refuted :

1. That he was a poor teacher, and his school was becoming smaller every day. He answered that that was not his fault, but theirs, as they had taken their children out of the school, and were influencing others to do so. He, however, claimed that his school was larger than that of his predecessor, as he had forty children of good families.

2. They charged him with discontinuing his private instructions. To this Bœhm replied that it had not been required of him in his call to hold them, and hence he could act in this matter as he thought best.

3. That Jewish children were taught in his school with the Christian children. He said that that was not true, except that once or twice a Jewish child had come a little early and sat alongside of the other children.

4. His indistinct reading as a public reader in the church. He answered that it was strange they should make this charge, when they had him on trial six weeks before they first engaged him, and had had him now for six years, yet no one had discovered that charge till now.

The city council deliberated about this for more than a year. Bœhm appealed to them again and again for a decision, but in vain. Schmidt evidently had considerable influence in the council. Finally Bœhm became tired of

the suspense. He handed in his resignation, to take effect on November 22, 1715, and accepted the position of school-teacher at Lamsheim, near Frankenthal.

At Lamsheim there are some notices of him. On May 12, 1718, he made complaint there about the heathrights (these were the assignments of waste lands among the community) that they had been taken away from him as schoolmaster two years before, and divided even among those who were not citizens. This he thought was unjust, as he had married the daughter of a citizen there and was himself a citizen and paid taxes on 150 florins assessment. He received 145 florins salary there, of which he had to pay quarterly forty-six kreutzers and four hellers as tax. He paid the first tax, June 17, 1717, in full, and again on August 27 and November 28.

On May 6, 1718, the heathlots were distributed. He was again left out and appealed, but the assistant magistrate said that if the pastors and schoolmasters were to be given lots, half the commons would have to be given them, and so he refused. Böhm therefore appealed to the supreme court at Neustadt in the Palatinate. In this appeal he asked that the Reformed and Catholic ministers and schoolmasters might receive the same treatment as the other citizens (for the Catholics had made a similar complaint)—that he be treated as the Catholic schoolmaster had been. The court replied by ordering the magistrates to treat all equally. On May 28 he again appealed to

them, stating that the magistrate had done nothing in his case, and so he would have to lose the expected crop in the vineyard, which had been given to the Reformed for many years, and had been planted by them, especially by pastor Mock, thirty years before. He therefore asked the court to aid him. The court ordered the chief magistrate, Ferbert, under penalty of ten imperial dollars, to inform the assistant magistrate that if the assignment were not made within a week, the domain would be fined. So Böhm gained his case.

We find mention of Böhm in the town accounts as late as April 6, 1720, after which he seems to have come to America.*

The petition that Böhm's congregations sent to the classis of Amsterdam, July, 1728, which says that he was compelled to flee because of persecutions of the Catholics, does not seem to be borne out by those records that have been found. Still there is no doubt that the Reformed were under persecution in the Palatinate at the time; and if so, Böhm must have been indirectly a sufferer from them, even if no direct fact is found. For the Elector of the Palatinate in 1719 issued two edicts against the Reformed, one (April 24) forbidding them to use the Heidel-

* He seems to have married at Lamsheim a second time, his first wife having been Anna Maria Stehler, and his second Anna Maria Scherer. Four children were born to him at Worms, and baptized by Rev. Mr. Cruciger—John Sabina, born May 2, 1709; Francis Louis, July 24, 1711; John Christoph, May 4, 1713, died August, 1713, and Anthony William, April 27, 1714.

berg Catechism, the other (August 26) taking the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg from them. The church was not given back to them until foreign princes, as those of Prussia, Hesse Cassel and England, retaliated on the Catholics. The persecution was, therefore, sufficiently great to attract the attention of these foreign princes, and lead them to severe measures. Not till February 29, 1720, did the Elector give back the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg to the Reformed. And even when Bœhm left, the catechism was only provisionally permitted. Full liberty to use it was not granted to the Reformed until May 10, 1721, the year after he left. Of course, as the whole Palatinate was involved in this persecution, the words of Bœhm's congregations in their petition were true. He with all the Reformed had suffered from the oppressions of a Catholic Elector, and therefore, like his fellow Palatines, he sought religious freedom in that land famous then in Germany for such liberty, namely Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH UNDER CONGREGATIONAL ORGANIZATION (1725 - 1747).

The growth and development of the Church was gradual. In its organization there came first, of course, the organization of the individual congregations or charges, and finally their union into a synod or coetus. The former will be described in this chapter; the latter in the next. John Philip Bœhm had the honor of organizing the first German Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. What Guldin might have done, had he been an organizer, Bœhm accomplished. Michael Schlatter has the other honor of being the founder of the synod or coetus, which organized the scattered Reformed congregations into a union.

SECTION I.

THE EARLY LABORS OF BŒHM.

The early Reformed began coming to Pennsylvania in large crowds. The unfortunate experience of their friends in New York state led them to avoid New York for many years, while on the other hand the freedom and warm welcome given to them in Pennsylvania drew large crowds thither. This emigration was aided by the large adver-

tising done by the various German Land Companies, who had taken up land in Pennsylvania, and who sought emigrants for their lands. It seems strange to us that for many years they speak of this colony as the "island of Pennsylvania." The founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn, had a warm place in his heart for the Reformed. He was favorable to them especially for three reasons :

1. His mother was of the Reformed Church, it is said. She was a daughter of a Holland merchant named Jasper, a member of the Reformed Church at Rotterdam. She may indeed have had the value of a jasper in the eyes of her son, for she was ever his protectress when his father, Admiral Penn, became so incensed against him for going over to the Quakers.

2. He owed a very important part of his education to the Reformed. When his father sent him to France to get him away from the influence of Quakers at home, Penn attended the Reformed University of Saumur, and from his training there he acquired not only a more liberal mind, but also a certain polish of manner which made him the Quaker courtier of the English court.

3. He counted among his warmest friends one of the most learned and pious Reformed princesses of that day, the Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate, who was abbess of the Protestant abbey at Herford. There Penn had visited her and held religious service in her house. So highly did he admire her Christian character that he placed her

among the saints of earth in his book, "No Cross, No Crown," which he wrote when imprisoned in the tower at London for being a Quaker.*

Penn for these reasons owed a debt to the German Reformed, which he amply repaid by offering to them an asylum in Pennsylvania when they fled from war, oppression and poverty.

The Reformed began coming very early to Pennsylvania, and as the years rolled on the number of emigrants increased. When they arrived, they found that the Quakers had already taken possession of the best lands around Philadelphia, so they were compelled to go out beyond them toward what was then the wilderness. They then began settling up the Perkiomen Valley and northward along the Schuylkill Valley to Falkner Swamp (near Pottstown). When these were pretty well settled, they pushed out farther into the Indian wilderness, settling south of the Blue Mountain, from Egypt on the east to Tulpehoeken in the west, and down into the Conestoga district in Lancaster county.

The early Reformed, although they came without ministers and had no churches, must not be considered as an irreligious people. On the contrary, they were a religious folk, many of them being refugees from religious persecution. They had loved their Reformed faith so much

* For an account of her life see "History of the Reformed Church of Germany," by Rev. James I. Good, D. D.

that they were willing to give up home and country on account of it. The religion for which they had sacrificed their old home was too dear to them to give up when they came to their new home in America. They, therefore, did not forget their God or the faith of their fathers, as alas so many German emigrants have done in this century. The German emigration of the last century may be set down as a very religious emigration—so religious that the tendency among them was rather to go off into religious excesses, as inspirationism or fanaticism, especially as there were almost no ministers to guide them. Being thus religious, they brought with them their Bibles, their catechisms, their hymn books, etc., many of which have come down to their descendants. In the wilderness they set up their tabernacles for worship. Where they were able to do so they would employ a parochial schoolmaster to teach their children. He would also hold a religious service by prayer, reading of sermon and singing. Or if the community had no schoolmaster, they would sometimes choose one of their own number, whose integrity of life fitted him to be a religious leader, and he would hold worship for them. What they most missed were their sacramental privileges. Their children would remain unbaptized, and they would miss the communion of the Lord's Supper. At first some of them would go to communion with the Presbyterians in Philadelphia, and have their children baptized by the Presbyterian minister at Philadelphia,

Rev. Jedediah Andrews, D. D., as he himself says in a letter. But it was very unsatisfactory, as they did not understand an English service well. Besides, most of them were poor, and could not afford the journey to Philadelphia, and so were not able to enjoy such privileges.

So in course of time those living in the Schuylkill Valley north of Philadelphia became dissatisfied with their religious condition. As no Reformed minister was to be had, they finally prevailed on Mr. Böhm to become their minister. (Shortly after his arrival he had begun holding religious services for them without salary in the capacity of a "reader." This is an officer in the Dutch Church who holds services when there is no minister, and when there is a minister, he opens the services by reading the Scriptures.) He at first refused, because he had not been ordained. But they became most importunate. Henry Antes, the leading elder at Falkner Swamp, entreated him even with tears to accept a call so manifestly providential. He finally accepted, "protesting before God that he could not justify his refusal of so necessary a work." The schoolmaster thus became the minister by force of circumstances, and he organized the Reformed north of Philadelphia into three congregations. He first administered the communion at Falkner Swamp, October 15, 1725, to forty members; at Skippack in November to thirty-seven members, and at White Marsh, December 23, to twenty-four members. Falkner Swamp

is thus the oldest Reformed congregation still in existence, as Skippack afterwards became dormant (Schlatter declares it extinct) for a while, and White Marsh went to pieces after the death of William Dewees (Germantown, which was the oldest of them all, having since gone over to the Presbyterians).*

Bœhm proposed a full church constitution to these three congregations, which was adopted. This constitution fully reveals the thoroughly Reformed position of Bœhm. It was in every way Calvinistic. It was Calvinistic in its church government, for it organized the consistory thoroughly; and the consistory was Calvin's contribution to the Reformed Church government. It also ordered strict church discipline, and imposed penalties on those who had proved unworthy of their Christian profession; and church discipline has always been a peculiarly Calvinistic idea of government. In doctrine, as in government, it was thoroughly Calvinistic. It accepted the creeds of the Reformed Church of Holland, such as the Canons of Dort. It also accepted the Heidelberg Catechism, thus showing that our catechism was recognized at the very beginning of our church organization as one of its symbols.

This constitution reveals that Bœhm, though only a school-master, was a man of considerable ability, and had

* Bœhm gives three reports of the organization of his charge. The first is given by the letter of his consistories to the Classis of Amsterdam in July, 1728. The others are in Bœhm's reports to Holland, the one in 1739, the other in 1744.

a fine mind for the logic of constitutional points. Weiss and Reiff tried to make the impression on the South Holland Synod that Bœhm was an illiterate man. But although Bœhm did not have a university education, as far as we know, he yet revealed a strength of mind and a practical tact that often makes up for the lack of university training, and comes through self-development, rather than through the schools. Indeed, as we shall see hereafter, whenever a constitutional question of Reformed Church law came up, he was generally in the right. Judging by the positions he takes in his letters, it would have been well if he had lived longer than he did, for he would have saved the Church from much confusion in the controversies which followed his death. For where Schlatter and Bœhm differ on church order, Bœhm is generally in the right, as in his letter of November, 1748. On such subjects he seems to see to the root of the matter, and then to reason out the logical results, which never failed to come, for his words sometimes seem to have a sort of prophetic insight.

Bœhm was not satisfied with having his church constitution adopted only by his three congregations. He tried to have it adopted by other Reformed congregations. Thus on October 14, 1727, he went to Conestoga and administered the communion to 59 members, and to Tulpehocken, October 18, 1727, where he administered the communion to 32 members. Both of them afterwards

accepted his constitution. On July 21, 1734, Philadelphia also accepted his constitution. He also organized the Oley congregation according to his church constitution. On May 4, 1736, he administered the communion to 39 persons. He went there the second time, November 17, 1736, gave the communion to 40 and installed four elders and two deacons. Then Goetschi came along soon after and undid his work there. Thus Bœhm was able to introduce his constitution into seven congregations. But Germantown, which had been so largely affected by the sect spirit, and Goshenhoppen, which had been led into independency by the Reiff party and Goetschi, would not accept it.

We thus see Bœhm's earnest efforts to organize the congregations. For this he should have the credit that has hitherto been given to Schlatter. Many of the congregations which Schlatter organized in his early ministry here, had been organized before he came. He mainly gathered them into charges. Not so Bœhm. He had to work on virgin soil. Besides, Schlatter had the support of the strong Holland Church behind him, while Bœhm alone and unaided heroically tried to organize the Reformed and bring them out of the confusion caused by the sects into some kind of order. That he succeeded in getting so many congregations to accept his constitution is remarkable in view of his solitariness and the opposition to his efforts. He should ever be honored as the founder of our Church.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION II.

CONRAD TEMPELMAN.

All honor to the parochial school-teachers who started our denomination. It remains to speak of another, who though he did not so well and thoroughly organize the congregations as Böhm did, yet he deserves mention because he founded several of the early congregations very nearly at the same time.

John Conrad Tempelman was born at Weinheim in the Palatinate, and baptized, March 22, 1692. He was the son of Henry Tempelman, a miller by trade. He was married, September 22, 1717, to Anna Maria Barth. He was a tailor by trade, living on the hill at the castle at Heidelberg. He had two children born, Anna Margaret and Anna Maria, the former baptized September 11, 1718, the latter March 16, 1721. The exact time when he came over we do not know, but it must have been between 1721 and 1725.

He lived near Lebanon, and began preaching about the same time that Böhm did, namely in 1725. Tempelman thus describes the first beginnings of his work in a letter sent to the Holland deputies, February 13, 1733: "This church took its origin in the year 1725 at Chanes-

toka with a small gathering here and there in houses, with the reading of a sermon and with singing and prayer, according to the German Reformed church order, upon all Sundays and holidays." He also says that on account of the lack of ministers they were without the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The letter proceeds to say that "Boehm afterwards first voluntarily at the request of the members ministered to them once a year for two years baptism and communion, being satisfied with their voluntary gifts." Boehm subsequently established a church organization there after he had organized his own three congregations in the Schuylkill Valley, and Tempelman was his schoolmaster, holding services between the semi-annual communions that Boehm celebrated with them. Boehm says when he first met Tempelman he noticed "nothing wrong, and had heard nothing against his life and walk, he was very watchful against sects, and his congregations were very much united."

The letter of Tempelman in 1733 reports to Holland that the members of Conestoga district had separated themselves into six preaching places. Three of them had been taken by Rev. John Peter Miller, who afterwards went over to the Seventh-day Dunkards, who had served them together with Tulpehocken. The remaining three congregations, as they could no longer be served by Boehm, on account of their great distance from him and his very heavy labor, asked the Holland synods to send them a

minister from Heidelberg. It is a very earnest letter, and is signed by three elders from each of the three congregations. At the end of it they apologize for their simple and poor language, for which they ask the Holland synods to excuse them because they were not educated persons. For they are aware their letter is not drawn up according to the usual ecclesiastical requirements.

On August 12, 1744, the union church at Quitopahilla was dedicated, and the day before the two congregations entered into an agreement with each other on twelve points. This was signed by 24 names, Tempelman as pastor, representing the Reformed. Tempelman's charge extended over to Muddy Creek, where he baptized, December 3, 1745, and also baptized in 1746. He administered the communion there, March 30, 1746, (Easter) and admitted ten to the Church. Besides laboring at the Grubben and Hill churches, he also labored at Swatara, some baptisms of his being recorded there as early as 1740.

So great was the attachment of his people to him because of his earnest preaching and pious life, that when Schlatter came into their midst, they did not give him the most kindly reception, because they loved their old minister so much, and did not wish him to be displaced. Schlatter says in his journal, June, 1747, "Up to this time these congregations, Muddy Creek, Cocalico, White Oaks, have been served by a certain tailor from Heidelberg, named Tempelman, whom the people some twenty years

ago urged to this service, they being willing to be instructed and comforted by a pious layman, rather than be wholly without the public service of God. This man who is nearly sixty years of age, is reported of by the congregation as a man of correct views, quiet and peaceable in his spirit, by which he has won the love and respect of the community. After I had administered the Lord's Supper, I asked him to preach the thanksgiving sermon, to which I listened with pleasure and edification, as being well adapted to the circumstances of the people. He of his own accord offered that he would cheerfully vacate the post, to which the necessity of the circumstances had called him, as soon as a regular minister should be secured for these congregations ; but at the same time asked that he might be placed in such circumstances that as a regularly constituted minister he might conduct the holy service in the congregations of Quitopahilla, Swatara, Donegal, etc. He resides at Swatara, where he has a family and a piece of land. I am of the opinion that when he shall have been ordained according to the order of the Church, he could labor there with good fruit."*

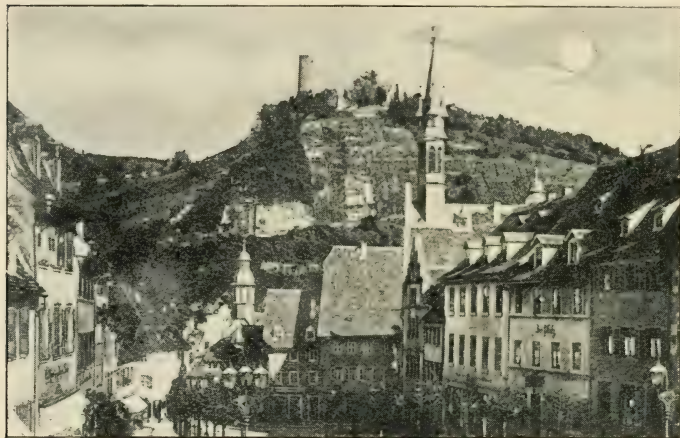
As the two founders of the German Reformed Church, Boehm and Tempelman, were laymen, it brings into prominence the thought that the Reformed Church owes a debt

* A picture of his house in which he held the first services is in the possession of the Reformed congregation at Lebanon, who have kindly loaned it to the author of this book.

to the laity. She should, therefore, give prominence to them in their work, and not try to suppress them. This origin of the Reformed through the laity gives a special emphasis to the idea that the ministry are not a separate class appointed to do some other work than the laity. All of God's people are priests. "Ye are a holy priesthood," says the Apostle Peter. And the watchword of the Reformation Churches, both Lutheran and Reformed, was the priesthood of all believers. Our Church in Pennsylvania owes its origin to the pious laymen. Let us honor Bœhm, the founder, and Tempelman, his assistant, and let us give the laity a large sphere in the activities of the Church. And may the example of our founders be an inspiration to the members of our churches to be as active and devoted as Bœhm and Tempelman were, so that, as they earnestly seek and lay hold of present opportunities, through them many congregations may be founded, and thus the Church be greatly enlarged.



EPPINGEN (the birthplace of Weiss).



WEINHEIM (the birthplace of Tempelman).



THE LINZEBUHL CHURCH AT ST. GALL (where Schlatter preached).

CHAPTER III.—SECTION III.

REV. GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONGREGATION.

Rev. George Michael Weiss was baptized at Eppingen, in the Palatinate, January 23, 1700. His father was John Michael Weiss, a tailor from Gross Engersheim, in Wurtemberg. His mother, his father's second wife, was Maria Frank, of Bretten.* He studied at the university at Heidelberg, having matriculated there, October 18, 1718, as a student of philosophy, from Eppingen, in the Palatinate. In 1725 he was ordained at Heidelberg.† He came to America 1727, sent (as the Memorial of the Holland synods of 1730 puts it) by the Palatinate consistory. He showed his diploma and appointment by the Palatinate consistory, dated May 1, 1727, which was renewed by that consistory April 26, 1728. On his way to America he passed through Holland, and sailed from Rotterdam, but does not seem to have come into contact with the Holland Church. Its attention had not yet

*The Ephrata Chronicle is wrong about the place of his birth, when it says Stebbach. Stebbach was, however, only two or three miles east of Eppingen, and both were in the neighborhood of Bretten, the birth-place of Melancthon.

†Dubbs' History of the Reformed Church, page 255.

been called to the Pennsylvania Germans, as was done the next year. He landed at Philadelphia, September 18, 1727, in the ship *William and Sarah*, which had on it four hundred German emigrants, and he took the oath of allegiance September 21. He found a number of German Reformed in Philadelphia, to whom Bœhm had occasionally preached before he arrived. (Bœhm seems to have been the first to preach to the Reformed in Pennsylvania in almost all of the oldest congregations. He was a true missionary). Weiss celebrated the communion with them the week after his arrival, and organized the congregation soon after (before the end of 1727) by the election of a consistory. Peter Lecolie, John William Roerig, Henry Weller and George Peter Hillegass were elected elders. He also began the organization of a new church at Skippack, near which, in the Perkiomen valley, at Goshenhoppen, lived Frederick Hillegass, who had been his companion on the sea voyage. Hillegass first took Weiss up the country, and on their way they visited Bœhm, at his farm, at Witpen. Weiss' friends in the Perkiomen valley wanted him to preach for them, which he did. And a number of the Skippack congregation, which had hitherto been served by Bœhm, now became dissatisfied with the latter and wanted Weiss for their pastor, as he was ordained, and Bœhm was not. Weiss preached there for the first time, October 19, 1727, and organized a consistory composed of Wendell Keiber, Gerhart In de

Haven, Christopher Schmidt and George Reiff. This party having split from Bœhm's congregation, led by Jacob Reiff, completed a church already begun, and in it Weiss preached. It was located on Reiff's ground, so that the latter had control of it, and they afterward prevented Bœhm from preaching to the congregation in it or having anything to do with its dedication, (June 22, 1729). Weiss also preached at Germantown, as his later reconciliation with Bœhm says. He also preached at Goshenhoppen and administered the Lord's Supper there on October 12, 1727.

Weiss seems to have been a young man of more than ordinary promise, as the following note in the Philadelphia Mercury, in 1730, shows :

“This is to give notice that the subscriber hereof; being desirous to be as generally useful as he can in this country (wherein he is a stranger), declares his willingness to teach logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, etc., to all such as are willing to learn. The place of teaching will be widow Sproegel's on Second street, where he will attend, if he has encouragement, three times a week for that exercise.

“Signed by G. M.,

“Minister of the Reformed Palatinate church.”*

It seems that although Weiss was a regularly ordained

* This extract is not from the Mercury of 1729, as heretofore supposed, but from that paper of 1730. The first three insertions are signed by only G. M. In the advertisement of March 12, his full name, George Michael Weiss, appears, as it does in the four following insertions,

Reformed minister, and had a Latin certificate to that effect with him, yet discredit was thrown upon it. So to satisfy his critics he, on December 2, wrote back to the Palatinate consistory, at Heidelberg, for a German certificate. At the same time his letter also gave to them an account of the condition of church affairs in Pennsylvania. They reply to him by not only sending him a German certificate, dated April 26, 1728, and signed by Professor L. C. Mieg, the prominent theologian of Heidelberg University, and the head of the consistory, but they also sent with the certificate a letter dated April 27, also signed by Mieg as president of the consistory. The certificate reads as follows :

“Whereas, Mr. George Michael Weiss, born at Eppingen in the electoral Palatinate, and at present stationed as a Reformed minister at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, under date of the third of December of the last year gave information to the Ecclesiastical Council of the Palatinate concerning the present condition of religious and ecclesiastical affairs there ;

“And, whereas, on this occasion he gave us to understand that (although he had received from this council a Latin certificate), he needs also a certificate in German, because of the difficult circumstances in which he is placed, and specially on account of those who do not understand Latin ;

“Therefore, We testify as we did before, that he is not only right-minded in doctrine and unblamable in life, peace-loving and sociable in his walk and conversation,

but also edifying in his manifold discourses preached before us. We have no doubt but that, if the Lord grant him life and health, he will prove useful and be the means of edifying many souls. The infinitely good and merciful God and Father extend to him light and strength in full measure from the fulness of his grace which is in Christ Jesus, that the received word of the Lord may, by his service, make great progress, that even the minds of the heathen may be turned to the Lord, and that their kings may be brought.

“Heidelberg, April 26, 1728.

“L. C. MIEG,

“Councillor and Director of the Electoral Church Council Consistory.”

Rev. Dr. Jedediah Andrews, the pastor of the Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, also speaks highly of him in a letter of October 14, 1730. He says :

“There is in this province a vast number of Palatines, and they still come in every year. Those that have come of late are mostly Presbyterians, or, as they call themselves, Reformed. They did use to come to me for baptism, and many have joined with us in the other sacrament. They never had a minister till nine years ago, who is a bright young man and a fine scholar.”*

* The reference of this letter “nine years ago” is hard to explain. Dr. Weiser refers it to Böhm, who came to Pennsylvania in 1720. But Andrews’ letter has no reference to Böhm at all. Mr. J. F. Sachse, of Philadelphia, one of our best state historians, claims to have found at Weiss’ home evidence that Weiss’ trip to America in 1727 was his second trip, not his first. But this is as yet unproved. It seems hardly likely, however, for several reasons. One is that Weiss in his report to the Synod of South Holland in 1730 does not speak of an earlier visit. And again Böhm, when he refers to it, speaks of only one visit of Weiss to America. If the latter had come to America in

Weiss was quite active before he went to Europe in 1730, as we shall see in the next chapter. One fact more in his life we will, however, mention here. He published (1729) what was probably the first book published by the German Reformed in the new world. It was entitled "The minister who had wandered in the American wilderness among men of various Nations and Religions, and who has been variously attacked," etc.* It was published by Andrew Bradford, Philadelphia. It was a small work, only 29 pages, yet books published in the days of the infant colony were many of them small. The book has become lost, no copy having been found as yet. It was directed against the sect of the New-Born. This sect had become quite numerous in Oley, Berks county, which seems to have been a seething cauldron of religious ideas and novelties in those days, from the Inspirationism of Gruber, to the Universalism of De Benneville, M. D. Some of the New Born had also settled in the neighbor-

1721, there is little likelihood that Boehm would have been called as minister by his people, because then they would have had a Reformed minister among them in Weiss. Besides, Weiss' ordination did not take place till 1725, or several years after Andrews reports him here. Hence his coming in 1721 is very unlikely.

* The full German title is as follows: Georg Michael Weiss, V. D. M., der in der Americanischen Wildnüz unter Menschen von verschiedenen Nationen und Religionen hin und wieder gewandelte und verschiedentlich Angefochtene Prediger. Abgemahlet und vorgestellt in einem Gespraech mit einem Politico und Neugeborenen Verschiedene Stück, insonderheit die Neugeburt betreffende. Verfertigt und zu Befoerderung der Ehr Jesu selbst aus eigener Erfahrung an das Licht gebracht. 8 vo. Title and hymn III.-V., text I.-29 pp. Published by Andrew Bradford, Philadelphia, 1729.

hood of Germantown in 1723. They believed in sinless perfection in this life. Their leader was Matthew Bowman, born at Lamsheim, from where Bœhm came in Pennsylvania. They became so outspoken that their disputations were heard in the markets of Philadelphia, whither these country people went to bring produce for sale. On one occasion Bowman proposed to walk across the Delaware river. He was very bold in his attacks, giving special trouble to Beissel, the mystic of Ephrata. It was against this early tendency on the part of many of the Germans that Weiss set himself. Just as Bœhm in his controversy with the Moravians, so Weiss set himself against any influence that would divide the Reformed. And in doing so he reveals his ability as well as his zeal for his Reformed faith.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION IV.

THE ORDINATION OF BŒHM.

The arrival of Weiss was a gain to the Reformed, for it gave them another minister. But it also proved to be an element of discord. This at first seemed to be an evil, but divine providence overruled it, as it always does, so that it became a blessing. It produced friction at first between Weiss and Bœhm, but finally led to the happy result that Bœhm became an ordained minister.

Weiss had hardly arrived before he began to work most actively among the German Reformed. He celebrated the communion with the Philadelphia congregation soon after landing, at the urgent desire of the people, and before he preached to any of the other Reformed congregations. He seems to have been led in the choice of his fields of labor largely by those who came over with him in his vessel. Thus, at the request of Hillegass, who came over with him, he went and preached at Skippack. He was afterwards led to do the same thing at Conestoga. This caused friction with Bœhm, for both of those congregations were served by him. Weiss and his followers declared that Bœhm's course in preaching without ordination was irregular and wrong. On the other hand, Bœhm

complained that Weiss was interfering in his congregations, which up to the time of Weiss' coming had been in entire harmony with him.

The first sign of trouble between Bœhm and Weiss was a letter which the latter wrote to a Mr. Schwab, of Conestoga, October 2, 1727, in which he declared that Bœhm had usurped the authority of a minister which did not belong to him, and claimed he could not conscientiously recognize him as a minister. He offered to come there and celebrate the Lord's Supper, if they desired it. This he seems to have done to several who had come over the sea with him. Weiss also entered another of Bœhm's congregations, namely Skippack, of which Goshenhoppen was then an outlying district. He administered the communion at Goshenhoppen on October 12. Bœhm complains against Weiss that he administered the communion without any examination of the members before communion, such as was customary among the Reformed, and that he had admitted to the communion some of Bœhm's congregation at Falkner Swamp, who were under discipline. At Goshenhoppen, Skippack (where he preached October 19), and also at Philadelphia (where he preached on October 26), Weiss declared publicly that Bœhm was incompetent to perform the ministerial office. The Lutheran minister at Skippack and Goshenhoppen—Henkel—aided Weiss against Bœhm, and announced Weiss' preaching services.

Weiss also attempted to get into the congregation at White Marsh. He sent to them stating that he would come and preach for them, if they would send him a horse for the journey. One of the elders did so, supposing that Weiss had arranged with Bœhm about the matter. But when the other elders learned what this elder had done without their knowledge, quite a tumult arose. Weiss also entered a fourth of Bœhm's congregation at Oley, where he performed some baptisms. Bœhm charges him with baptising some Indian children whose parents were still heathen. Bœhm's friends at White Marsh and Falkner Swamp prevented Weiss from gaining much of a foothold in these two congregations.

Weiss seems to have been thoroughly convinced in his mind that Bœhm's whole course was wrong. He not only tried to stop his preaching at the points named, but on November 28 he wrote Bœhm a letter summoning him to Philadelphia to an examination for the ministry. This letter is so remarkable that we give it in full :

“Greetings to you, my specially honored sir and friend. Inasmuch as the great God is not a God of discord, but of order, and as He therefore demands that in the Christian Church everything should be disposed in accordance with the apostolic order, but whereas it is well known that in many cases the gentleman has acted in a manner contrary to this order ; since without inquiry or permission of the clergy, taking into account that this is a free country, he has undertaken such important office singly

and solely at the invitation of the people, not being examined as to his proficiency by such men as are able to pass judgment, much less having submitted to an ordination, nay, having all the time dissuaded the people from demanding a clergyman, not to speak of his neglect to teach the catechism for the benefit of the young and old, and of his admitting to the Lord's Supper children at once, without giving them any premonition or instruction; and also when I first came to this country having received me in a manner I cannot explain otherwise than by supposing that he cares for nothing so much as for his vain reputation and his own advantage, not to mention here for the present many other things; now, therefore, by the authority of the Most Rev. Ministry, and according to the power accorded one as a regular servant of Christ, the gentleman is herewith summoned and requested to appear in Philadelphia before the presbyterium (consistory) of the church at the house of the minister in order to be examined by one or another of those being present.

“ With the recommendation of God,

“ I remain yours,

“ G. M. WEISS, V. D. M.

“ Philadelphia, November 28, 1727.”

Bœhm did not, however, obey this invitation for an examination. It is almost needless to say that Weiss had not sufficient authority to do this. As a single minister he had no right to examine Bœhm, neither had his consistory, before whom he summoned him. But then young ministers sometimes make mistakes in church law, especially when carried away by zeal. On February 11, 1728,

Peter and Michael Hillegass and Michael Schmidt, of Philadelphia, came to the congregation at Skippack and tried to induce the members to subscribe towards the salary of Weiss (and give up subscribing to Boehm's salary). On March 10 Weiss and these three came again to Skippack, when it was Boehm's Sunday to preach. Quite a number of the congregation who were followers of Weiss, led by the two Hillegass brothers and Schmidt, gathered at the home of Jacob Reiff, where it had been customary to hold the services, as the congregation as yet had no church building. When Boehm appeared they would not let him enter the house, and prevented him from holding religious services that day. A great crowd had assembled, expecting trouble between the two factions, and there were heated arguments, which finally led to a tumult. Boehm was thus compelled to hold his services after that in the houses of those in the congregation who were friendly to him.

The final and culminating act of this controversy occurred in the next year, June 22, 1729, when the new church at Skippack was dedicated. This church building had been started and most of the money contributed by Boehm's party. But Reiff in some way or other succeeded in obtaining a title to the land, and hence claimed it as his own because it was located on his property.

As Weiss writes to Heidelberg soon after arriving for a German certificate, we suspect that Boehm's party were

the ones who cast reflections on Weiss' Latin certificate of ordination, and so also on Weiss' authority as a minister. When the answer came from Heidelberg, probably in the summer of 1728, giving the testimonial of Weiss and his German certificate, it put the Bœhm party on the defensive. It compelled Bœhm and his party to do something. What could they do? They very wisely decided that the best course was to apply to some religious body to ordain Bœhm. But to whom could they go? They might have applied to the Presbyterian Synod at Philadelphia, as Miller did afterwards. But Bœhm was so intensely Reformed that nothing but an ordination by a Reformed body would answer. The only Reformed in America to whom he could appeal were the Dutch Reformed at New York. He and his consistories of Falkner Swamp, White Marsh and Skippack therefore applied to them. He might have applied to the nearest Dutch minister, Rev. Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, on the Raritan, New Jersey, but Bœhm was not in sympathy with Frelinghuysen's inclination toward Pietism, which afterwards led him to enter heart and soul into the Whitfield movement. So Bœhm passed over Frelinghuysen and applied to the Reformed ministers of New York, Gualther Du Bois, Henry Boel and their neighbor on Long Island, Vincent Antonides.

Bœhm's consistories in making this application state the unusual conditions under which they persuaded Bœhm

to become their minister, even though he had not been ordained. They express great sorrow of heart for having acted irregularly. They bear testimony to his work, saying that he had served them faithfully for three years. They say that he had the reputation among them of being a man of more than common knowledge in the sound doctrine of truth, of praiseworthy life and exemplary zeal. They enclose a copy of Bœhm's constitution for the congregations of his charge, so as to show that they were thoroughly Reformed, and they say that Bœhm was willing, if they would send a minister from Holland, to return to his former position in the church as reader. They, however, express fear that if Bœhm should desist from the ministry, their congregations would fall into a worse state than they then were, especially because of the influence of the Quakers and the sects, and that then great confusion would ensue, because he had already baptized two hundred children, whose baptism would thus be irregular.*

* There is a rather amusing story of the complications that might grow out of such circumstances. One of the Moravian bishops, Cammerhof, tells the story that there was a Dutch Reformed congregation in the Minnisink (Monroe county, Pa.) which had for its minister a Mr. Freymuth. For several years he had baptized children, married couples and performed other ministerial acts, claiming that he was regularly ordained. After Schlatter's arrival in Philadelphia in 1746, being convinced that his former ecclesiastical ordination had no validity, he, following Bœhm's example, applied to the Classis of Amsterdam for ordination, which request was granted. At the same time he received an order to rebaptize all those children whom he had baptized before, because they were not properly baptized. He read this from the pulpit, and it caused the greatest confusion. Some of his members submitted, others demanded back the baptismal fees, because, according to his own confession, they had not received the value of their money.

Böhm and William Dewees went to New York, May 16, 1728, to lay this matter before the New York ministers. These told Böhm that they had no authority to ordain him, but they recommended that he make application to the classis of Amsterdam in Holland, under whose authority the New York consistory stood, and submit to their ecclesiastical decision. This Böhm and his consistories did, July, 1728, after having sent out a full statement of the circumstances that led to their call to Böhm. They also sent a copy of Böhm's constitution. Their letter was signed by 16 names of the consistories of his three congregations. The New York ministers endorse this petition in a letter of August 15 to the classis.

Correspondence was slow in those days. And the Dutch were slow. We do not know how soon these letters arrived at Holland, but the first mention of them in the acts of the classis is on November 14, 1728, when they are reported as having been received. The classis requested its commissioners on foreign affairs to write comfortably to Böhm's congregations and assure them of a further consideration of their cause, and of a reply in the future. They appointed a committee of two ministers who knew German to assist the foreign committee. These classical commissioners wrote to the New York ministers on December 1, 1728, stating that they postponed action, because the matter was too important to be acted on speedily. On the same date they wrote to Böhm's consistories,

stating that classis accepted their letters and would consider the matter carefully. They assured them of their sympathy, but asked time to consider so important a subject. This letter was read by Boehm to his congregations. It caused great joy, and it had the effect of checking their opponents in casting slurs on Boehm's ordination. The committee appointed by classis reported January 11, and their action was adopted, but no opportunity seems to have come to them to send a letter, and so it was not written till June 20, 1739. There seems to have been an aspect of the matter that had troubled the classis somewhat, namely, whether they had the right to go ahead without waiting for the synod to act on so important a matter. This they finally decided to do. (It would have altered matters in Pennsylvania history considerably if they had done so, for by this action of the classis Boehm was isolated from the synod for many years; whereas if it had been sent to the synod with their favorable notice, he would have been brought to the attention of the synods. The action came to be looked upon as a classical affair, while if it had gone to synod, Weiss and Reiff would not have been able to prejudice the South Holland Synod against Boehm as they afterwards did.)

So finally, on June 20, the classis gave their decision, both to the New York ministers and to the Pennsylvania congregations. They declared that they found in the circumstances in Pennsylvania by which Boehm entered

the ministry the elements of a true call to the ministry, although all the formalities of it had not been gone through with. They, therefore, ordered that his ministerial acts be considered lawful, but that he must submit to ordination, provided he accepted the Heidelberg Catechism, submitted to the Canons of Dort, and would maintain correspondence with the classis of Amsterdam. They did not wish, however, that Bœhm's case should be considered a precedent for any other unordained men to begin the ministry and afterwards apply to them for ordination. The classis approved of his constitution drawn up for his congregations. They placed the ordination into the hands of the New York ministers. These could ordain him either by going to Pennsylvania or by his coming to New York, or by both going to some midway point. They also wrote to Bœhm, commending his work and urging him to greater activity when he had been ordained, and prayed • God's blessing on his work.

This decision Bœhm's congregations, having received it on September 4, by express from New York, readily accepted, November 4. Each of the three consistories sent a representative to go with Bœhm to New York, Frederick Antes, of Falkner Swamp, Gabriel Schuler, of Skippack, and William Dewees, of White Marsh. The Dutch consistory of New York held a meeting, November 18, at which all these matters came up and were discussed, and the delegates of Bœhm's congregations, and Bœhm

himself, agreed to accept the Dutch confessions. The consistory, therefore, (November 20) ordered his ordination, but with this stipulation, that this act should not serve as a precedent for future ordinations. On Sunday afternoon, November 23, Bœhm was solemnly ordained by Rev. Henry Boel and Rev. Gualther Du Bois.

This ordination became also the scene of a reconciliation of Bœhm and Weiss, who had come to New York and been present at the ordination. It seems that Weiss, before this, had been writing to the New York ministers against Bœhm as an irregular minister. But they had been answering his positions point by point. Weiss then went to New York and was there heard and answered by them. At the ordination he expressed regret at what he had done and his willingness to make complete Christian satisfaction. This led to the reconciliation. The reconciliation took place on November 24, the day after Bœhm's ordination.

The differences between them seem to have been honest differences. Weiss says: "I cannot conscientiously recognize Bœhm as a Reformed minister till he submits to an examination and is ordained properly." Weiss was right *de jure*; Bœhm *de facto*. Weiss was constitutionally right in claiming that an unordained minister should not perform ministerial acts. Bœhm, however, was right in fact, for the circumstances had compelled him to exercise his ministry. Weiss on his

part now agreed to respect Bœhm as a regularly ordained minister, and promised to stay away from Skippack, and leave it and the other two congregations, Falkner Swamp and White Marsh, to Bœhm ; while Bœhm agreed to leave to the ministry of Weiss, Philadelphia and Germantown. This reconciliation was signed by the representatives of Bœhm's congregations as well as by Bœhm. Weiss signed it alone. In this effort at reconciliation Weiss stood alone ; none of his congregations or members supported him in it. It must have required a good deal of courage for him to thus stand out against his congregations.

Indeed, even though he here agreed to the reconciliation, his congregation at Skippack never agreed to it. They protested against the ordination of Bœhm in a letter of May 10, 1730, to the synod, urging them to use their authority against the classis to nullify the ordination of Bœhm. The classis took up the matter and on December 5, 1730, wrote to them an earnest letter expressing deep regret at their course in dividing so new a congregation ; but they refused to nullify Bœhm's ordination, as they had requested. Classis urged them to become reconciled to Bœhm, and also wrote to Bœhm's congregations at Skippack, Falkner Swamp and White Marsh, urging them to live in harmony with their opponents at Skippack. On the same date they wrote to Bœhm, urging him to be kind to his opponents, exchange with Weiss, and thus

bring about unity. The New York ministers wrote to classis, November 2, 1730, defending Bœhm against the attacks of his enemies at Skippack. They report to classis that Skippack had refused to read the letter of classis asking for harmony. Bœhm complains, January 29, 1730, to the New York ministers about Weiss' actions after the reconciliation. The Skippack congregation in its letter to Holland bears witness that Weiss had counselled them to live in peace with Bœhm, but there is no doubt that just before he went to Europe in 1730 he celebrated the communion with the Skippack congregation. Weiss in this letter reveals considerable independence of spirit over against his own congregations, and also a sense of fairness in being satisfied when matters were made right by Bœhm's ordination, even though the pressure of the influence of his adherents at Skippack led him to go there just before going to Europe. On the other hand, Bœhm reveals a beautiful spirit in being willing to accept the reconciliation with Weiss after the severe aspersions the latter had cast upon him and his work ; and also reveals his humillty and zeal for the Reformed Church by offering before ordination to step aside and give place to some one else as minister whom the Holland Church would send.

It only remains to be noticed that by these ordination proceedings Bœhm and his three congregations agreed to become subordinate to the classis of Amsterdam and the

Church of Holland, and accept the canons and constitution of Dort. Weiss did the same, and he also agreed to try to bring, if possible, his congregation at Philadelphia into subordination to the Church of Holland. Thus the official connection of the Church in Holland with the Pennsylvania Reformed began in 1728, when the classis of Amsterdam accepted the appeal of Bœhm. The German Reformed of Pennsylvania from this time up to 1793 were under the Reformed Church of Holland.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION V.

THE JOURNEY OF WEISS AND REIFF TO EUROPE.

In 1730 Weiss took a journey to Europe, thus leaving Boehm the only German Reformed pastor in Pennsylvania. He accompanied his warm friend, Jacob Reiff, of Skip-pack, (who had been in Europe in 1727, but had returned in 1729). There has hitherto been some uncertainty about Weiss' journey to Europe, but all is now clear.

The journey was not made in 1729, as heretofore supposed, but in 1730. Weiss was in Philadelphia in the spring of 1730, for his advertisement, as given in the last chapter, appeared in the Philadelphia Mercury from February 10th, eight times up to April 9th. The power of attorney given by the Philadelphia congregation to Weiss and Reiff, was dated May 19th, 1730, so that he must have sailed some time in May. This power of attorney was given to Reiff, as it was somewhat uncertain whether Weiss would return to America. By it Reiff was ordered to receive the money collected in Europe, and, if Weiss did not return to Pennsylvania again, to bring another minister from Heidelberg. They were both of them authorized by the congregations to collect money for the congregations at Philadelphia and Skippack.

They arrived in Holland about the first of July, for we find them in attendance at the South Holland synod, July 4-14, at Breda.

Providence had been moving on the Reformed Church of Holland in a strange way to make it take up the poor Pennsylvania churches. We behold here the cross purposes of providence. From two directions came the call to them in the same year (1728). In that year, as we have seen, Böhm and his consistories appealed to the classis of Amsterdam for ordination. In that very same year, although about a half a year before, the Palatinate consistory, at Heidelberg, asked the synod of South Holland to take the Pennsylvania Germans under their care. At this synod (July 6-16) the president read a letter from the Heidelberg consistory "asking that the Holland Church, on account of the great poverty of the Palatinate Church, take the Pennsylvania congregations under their care." That consistory, which on June 27, 1709, seemed to oppose the coming of the Palatines, now accepted the inevitable, and determined to do something for them. It had sent Weiss at the head of a colony in 1727, and later sent Rieger at the head of a colony in 1731. We are somewhat suspicious that the report of the churches in Pennsylvania (which Weiss gave the Palatinate consistory, when he wrote for a German certificate of his ordination) stirred up the Palatinate consistory; for that letter was probably received by them just before they wrote to Holland.

Thus from Germany, and also from across the sea, in America, came the Macedonian call to the Holland Church to come over and help. There is, however, this difference to be noticed : Bœhm appealed to the classis of Amsterdam, which belonged to the North Holland synod ; while the Palatinate consistory appealed to the South Holland synod, through whose territory most of the Germans passed in sailing down the river Rhine, past Rotterdam, Dort, etc. The South Holland synod at once took up the matter. It recommended the Pennsylvania congregations to the Holland churches, and urged its classes to take up a collection for them. This at the next year was reported to be \$278.64, for Pennsylvania.

The coming of Weiss and Reiff brought matters to a focus, as they arrived just in time to attend the synod at Breda, July 4-14. They evidently had reported to the deputies first, for the deputies reported to the synod that Weiss and Reiff appeared before them. The deputies with the committee of the classis of Delft and Shieland (Rotterdam) bring in a report. The synod received the report, and ordered it to be printed, if possible, during the sessions of the synod, so that copies might be delivered to the council of the provinces, to each member of the synod, and to those of their number who went as correspondents to other synods, to present the matter to them. It was published, entitled, "Report and Organization Concerning the Colony and Church of Pennsylvania.

Prepared and Published by the Deputies of the Christian Synod of South Holland, Together with the Committee of the Classis of Delft and Delftland and Shieland." It is very interesting, because it is the first official Reformed account of Pennsylvania. It has been suggested that Weiss wrote this report. This is not true, as the acts of the synod show. It was composed by the deputies and the committee of those two classes, after conference with Weiss and Reiff, and based on their statements. It, therefore, emphasizes the needs of the two congregations for which Weiss and Reiff were appointed to collect, Philadelphia and Skippack, and entirely ignores all the congregations of Bœhm.

This report of the deputies consisted of two parts, the report about Pennsylvania and the regulations concerning the organization of the church. The report is quite an elaborate and clear description of Pennsylvania. It has a brief preface which states its object. This was two-fold—to incite the Holland Churches to benevolence for the Pennsylvania congregations, and to show the Pennsylvania congregations how they should be organized, so as to be in accordance with God's Word and the Reformed customs. The report describes Pennsylvania, its climate, products and minerals, speaking of it as still largely a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts and Indians. It briefly gives its history under the Swedes and then under Penn, whose invitation had been accepted by many Germans of various

denominations and sects. It reports the number of Reformed at 15,000, half of the whole German population in the colony. These were without religious privileges, and were therefore attracted toward the Quakers. The only Reformed church it mentions is the one at Skippack. (We are surprised that it does not even mention Philadelphia, for which Weiss was asked to collect, and it entirely ignores Böhm's work in his five congregations). It describes the deplorable condition of the Reformed, as they were without pastors, and yet their number was continually increasing. It then speaks of the possibility that through the Germans the conversion of the Indians might be hoped for, as the latter were on very friendly terms with the Germans, because they had been kind to them. It further declares that this Church in Pennsylvania, if fostered, might become an asylum or refuge for the Hollanders in case they were ever persecuted again, as they had been by the king of Spain. It closes by stating that the log or frame church at Skippack ought to be replaced by a stone church, and that in addition to Skippack four other churches ought to be built, so that the religious needs of the Pennsylvania Germans might be provided for.

The regulations are also elaborate, though not so important, as they were never put into effect. Yet they show the interest of the Dutch in planning large things for the Pennsylvania Reformed in the future, and reveal the largeness of vision of the Dutch which came to be ful-

filled many years after. It organized the Pennsylvania churches under consistories, giving quite minute directions about the ministers, elders, deacons and school-masters. It even goes further, by preparing for the organization of classes. One of the most interesting points about it is its regulation about creeds. The ministers, elders, deacons and school-masters were required to subscribe no less than five creeds: 1. The Heidelberg Catechism; 2. The Palatinate confession of faith; 3. The Canons of Dort, as received by the Palatinate ministers in harmony with other nations; 4. The post acta of the synod of Dort; 5. The Formula of Concord (meaning the three creeds of the Holland Church, The Heidelberg Catechism, Belgic Confession and Canons of Dort). This would make the Pennsylvanians amenable to all the creeds of the Holland Church. The Holland fathers were always very careful about the orthodoxy of the early Reformed in regard to Calvinism. If they gave their money to help them, they felt a responsibility that it did not go to aid any heresy.

The South Holland synod thus took charge of the Pennsylvania churches, and not the classis of Amsterdam in the North Holland synod, as was done with the churches of New York. Up to 1753 the classis of Amsterdam and the South Holland synod worked independently of each other. But the latter became the great guardian of the Pennsylvania churches, although the classis of Amsterdam was always a most liberal contributor.

This visit of Weiss and Reiff to Holland caused a great deal of interest. Money soon began to flow in. The Dutch were a very liberal people for a religious cause, and especially so for their suffering Reformed brethren. Was there a Reformed congregation in any part of the world, in Hungary, Poland, Russia, Italy, the Palatinate or the East Indies, they quickly responded to aid it. They had about a hundred churches on their list of needy churches. They were the great missionary society, both home and foreign, of the 17th century, when the missions of the English speaking Churches were yet unknown. And this liberality they kept up in the 18th century. The particular fact that seems to have so deeply impressed these Hollanders was the statement that there were in Pennsylvania no less than 30,000 baptized Reformed (of whom 15,000 were members), for whose care there were only two ministers, one of them, Bœhm, being illiterate, the other, Weiss, being away in Europe. This disproportion the Dutch felt would never do. There must be help given to them. The truth of the matter was that these figures were an overstatement of the number of Reformed in Pennsylvania.* But there

* Reiff, upon whose statements little reliability can be placed, even put the number much higher, up to 70,000. When the Reformed in Pennsylvania afterwards heard of these figures they were astonished. A letter from Pennsylvania, November 23, 1731, says there were only 3,000. Rieger and Diemer (1733) put the whole number of Germans, which included Lutherans and the sects, at 15,000. Finally when Schlatter arrived in 1746, he put the number of Reformed at 12,000, and later, in 1752, makes it 30,000, but that was thirty years after this, during which time the German emigration to Pennsylvania had been very large.

is no question about it, they produced the desired effect, as money came in rapidly.

The movements of Weiss and Reiff in Holland as they went about collecting money, can be to some extent traced. The North Holland Synod reported that the South Holland synod had received a letter asking aid for the Pennsylvania Reformed. They received this news gladly, and ordered collections for it in the classes. On August 15, 1730, Weiss and Reiff appeared before the deputies. He showed his diplomas from Heidelberg, and gave information about the deplorable condition of the Reformed in Pennsylvania. On September 4 Weiss and Reiff were in Amsterdam, and appeared before the classis of Amsterdam, asking for aid for the Philadelphia congregation. The letter of the Skippack congregation protesting against Böhm's ordination, and asking classis to nullify it, was also read at the meeting at which Weiss appeared. Classis decided that Böhm's ordination must stand, but gave Weiss permission to collect money for his congregations. Classis (December 5, 1730) reports the following gifts to Weiss. (Amsterdam has always been very liberal to the Pennsylvania churches.) Its diaconate then gave 240 dollars, its consistory 60 dollars, and the burgomaster had given the privilege (October 18) to Weiss and Reiff to individually solicit subscriptions up to 240 dollars in Amsterdam. As no begging was allowed in Holland by law, he appointed a resident of Amsterdam, John Peter Bolthuy-

sen, to accompany them. This permission is such an interesting document that we give it in full :

“The burgomasters and magistrates of the city of Amsterdam, upon the report made to their honors by George Michael Weiss, minister, and Jacob Reiff, elder, as commissioners of the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia, concerning the wretched condition of said congregation, consisting in general of poor and needy people, who were compelled by religious persecution or from lack of subsistence to depart thither, and after long and expensive journeys had to settle there empty handed ; and being without places and opportunities for the exercise of their religion, and for the propagation of the Christian Reformed religion, have resolved, in order to so far come to the aid of these same poor banished brethren in the faith in the attainment of their desires, to grant and permit to their aforesaid commissioners, being assisted by John Peter Bolthuysen, resident of this city, that these same within this city and jurisdiction of the same, may go about to the houses of the good citizens and residents, and may solicit of the same most amicably their Christian compassionate donations and gifts, may be willing finally further to communicate these to them, as also receive these donations and gifts with gratitude, to the amount of six hundred gulden (\$240) without more. Done in Amsterdam, October 18, 1730. By ordinance of their honors aforesaid. S. B. ELIAS.

Weiss still continued his work for the Pennsylvania churches. The Classis of the Hague on November 6 reports the receipt of a Latin letter from Weiss asking aid. On March 16 of the next year Weiss and Reiff again

appeared before the deputies at Delft, and reported that there were four churches with 15,000 Reformed in Pennsylvania.

But Weiss did not stay long in Europe. He was in Holland only perhaps ten months. He must have left in the late spring or early summer of 1731. We know this, because the classis in a letter of October 19, 1731, chides him for not having written to Holland. He must have left Holland at least four months before that time, so as to get to America and then have a letter go back to Holland. He probably left soon after his appearance before the deputies, March 16, when the season for navigation again opened. He returned to Philadelphia by way of Maryland, but did not remain there long. Perhaps coming events cast their shadows before, and he foresaw the future troubles with Reiff about the money, and so left for New York state, where there were large colonies of Germans.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION VI.

WEISS' LABORS IN NEW YORK.

The emigration of the Palatines to New York state in 1710, which has been previously given, formed the nucleus of quite a colony of Germans there. They were located mainly in three groups. The first was along the Hudson, the second was in the Schoharie Valley, and the third in the Mohawk Valley, as at Palatine Bridge and Stone Arabia. So that there was quite a large number of Germans, with no Reformed minister to attend to their wants. It is true, Rev. John Frederick Haeger went with them in 1710, but he went as an Episcopalian, not as a Reformed. Still he is of some interest to us, as he was originally Reformed.

He was born in 1684 at Siegen, and was the third son of Prof. Henry Haeger, who had been the third teacher in the Latin school at Siegen since September 25, 1678. His father afterwards, on June 13, 1703, took the pastorate at Oberfischbach, which place he left in 1711 to come to America, settling in Virginia. John Frederick, his son, who went to New York state, entered Herborn University, July 5, 1703. On September 28, 1705, Abraham Pungeler, professor of philosophy, gave him a certificate that he

was a diligent student, who with all the earnestness of youth entered heartily into the study of the Cartesian philosophy. Haeger closed his course at Herborn by a disputation on "The Immortality of the Soul." He then went to the little university of Lingen in Germany, but near Holland. His certificate of dismissal shows that he left there, November 14, 1707. On February 14, 1708, he was examined by the consistory of Siegen and preached his trial sermon on 2 Timothy 3: 15, 16. He was then licensed to preach, but was not yet ordained.

We next find him at London, in the Palatinate emigration of 1709. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the oldest missionary society of the Episcopal Church of England, having been founded 1701) began as early in this emigration as May 20, 1709, to consider the advisability of sending a minister with the German emigrants to the new world. They laid the matter before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who approved it. They then began to consider the advisability of writing to Professor Franke, of Halle, for a young German whom they could send to America. But on December 16 the secretary of the society reported that that was not necessary, as they had found a young licentiate, John Frederick Haeger, of Siegen, who had offered his services, and he recommended his ordination. So Haeger was ordained, December 20, 1709, by the Bishop of London, when he preached his trial sermon

on Matthew 11 : 5, "The poor have the gospel preached unto them." The society decided his salary should be 50 pounds, and accepted him. He left Portsmouth early in 1710 with the Palatines. He writes his first letter from America to the society, July 25, 1710. As he had become a thorough Episcopalian by the laying on of the hands of the bishop, he now endeavored in every way to introduce the Episcopalian service among the Germans. It has hitherto been customary to count Haeger as one of the early Reformed. This is not true. He left his simple Reformed worship at Siegen and came to New York a full-fledged Episcopalian. Indeed he did everything possible to win the Reformed from their faith to the Episcopalian. He was greatly disappointed at his ultimate want of success. Unfaithfulness to the Church of his fathers brought no ease, but only labor. First Kocherthal, the Lutheran minister, who came over in the same expedition, vigorously opposed his efforts to turn the Lutherans into Episcopalians. As the Lutherans turned against his work, the only Germans left among whom he could proselyte were the Reformed. And these might fall an easy prey, for he was the only German minister among them, not a Lutheran. In his second report to London on October 28, 1710, he says he had 600 communicants, and had received 52 into the church after instructing them in the English catechism. But after that the number of his communicants grows smaller. This was partly owing to the emigration of many

of the Germans westward to Schoharie, but also to his want of success in drawing them from their Reformed faith. Thus in 1715 he reports 210 families and 458 communicants in eight places east and west of the Hudson. Nearly a hundred of his communicants went to Schoharie, and the next year he reports only 233 communicants. In his efforts to make them Episcopalian he reports to the society that as they had no decent place for worship, he had not insisted on their receiving the communion on their knees (as the Episcopalians do), especially as the Germans have a strong prejudice against such kneeling, which reminded them of the Catholic customs in their country. He himself was often compelled to borrow money, as the Palatines were not able to pay him, and he did not always succeed in getting his salary from England. In 1717 the society tried to get the state of New York to pay his salary, and later they gave up entirely paying his salary, although at his urgent appeal they gave him 50 pounds in 1721, but he died before receiving it. His widow married Rev. James Ogilvie, the Episcopalian missionary to the Indians. Haeger accompanied Col. Nicholson's expedition to Canada in 1712, and not long before his death, on November 22, 1720, he presided at the marriage of Conrad Weiser.

His place was supplied by Rev. John Jacob Oehl (Ehlig or Oel). He too has hitherto been supposed to have been Reformed, but, like Haeger, had been ordained

in London by the bishop of London. After his arrival in New York he wrote, June 29, 1724, to the society that he had been ordained in 1722, had gone with a colony of Germans to New York in 1722, and since that time he had officiated among them on the Hudson in Haeger's place, but that since then he had removed to Schoharie. He asked the society to grant him the same salary as they had been giving to Haeger. This was not done, but they resolved that if he would send his certificates, so as to corroborate his statement, they would present him with 100 dollars. We do not know whether he did so, but the next year the society sends him 100 dollars for his past services, and on September 30, 1734, he thanks them for their support. He also, like Haeger, labored among the Indians. We thus see that these two persons, who hitherto have been considered Reformed, were Episcopalian. This Church would lay hold of these young Germans passing through to America and have them ordained, pledging them a salary, and they would come to America to win the Germans to Episcopacy. This was done in the south as well as in the north, as by Zuberbuehler and others.

But with the coming of Weiss, in 1731, a Reformed minister appeared among them to stem the tide to Episcopacy. This seems to be the meaning of the providence which took him from Pennsylvania to New York state. Oehl was still preaching when Weiss came there, but, it

seems, to dwindling audiences, so that he was led to give much time to the Indians. The effort to gather the Germans into Episcopacy failed, and Weiss came to build the Reformed Church on the ruins of their work.

We do not know when he left Philadelphia, but he seems to have left it in the summer or fall of 1731, not long after his arrival. He first found his way in the Schoharie valley to Huntersville, now probably the village of Barton Hill, Schoharie county. He was called to Old Catskill, February 8, 1732, and the contract with him was signed by the two consistories of Catskill and Coxsackie, January 8, 1734. (Catskill at that time was a large charge, extending along the west side of the Hudson, from Coxsackie in the north to West Camp on the south). While at Catskill he was married on November 25, 1733. He left Catskill in 1736 and went to Burnetsfield (now the township of German Flats). On May 8, 1738, he revisited Skippack, Pennsylvania. After this visit he expressed a desire to classis to again become pastor at Philadelphia. They reply, January 13, 1739, that they would gladly agree to it, and would put nothing in his way. He writes, April 25, 1742, that according to the wish of the classis he had made known to the Philadelphia congregation his willingness to serve them, but that up to that time he had not heard from them. He therefore suggests to the classis to urge the congregation to move in the matter. He was willing, but

Philadelphia was not willing. The Philadelphia congregation had been prejudiced against him in the Reiff matter, and had become too strongly attached to Bœhm to agree to it. From Burnetsfield he wrote two letters to the classis, one dated May 10, 1741, and the other July 4, 1741. These letters, although brief, reveal a very interesting fact about his ministry in New York state, namely that he did mission work among the Indians. We give the following abstracts from his letters referring to this. From the letter of May 10, 1741: "That transmitted the previous year has doubtless safely come to hand: at the first opportunity also I shall communicate to your High Worthinesses a faithful description of the Indians in North America, which I have myself composed from my own experience on having sufficiently observed their ways: even as I have also added a painting both of an Indian man and an Indian woman, in order to give your High Worthinesses a better idea of the same." His letter of July 4, 1741, reads thus: "I take the liberty to report to you in the most obedient manner that I have had a sufficient opportunity to observe the ways of the Indians; also I have as much as I could interested myself in them; and since the Indian language is unknown to me, I have employed an interpreter on several occasions and caused the most essential parts of our Christian religion to be spoken to them, and have in consequence baptized several of them at their desire. It is to be wondered at that in this country peo-

ple do not insist upon the conversion of the Indians. I know of only one English preacher who has interested himself to a partial degree in the Indians and urges their conversion with all earnestness (the most of the Indians were allowed to run along without instruction, like animals). The French in Canada are of a quite different feeling, as they do much for the Indians, and erect churches and school-houses among them for their conversion. They thus win the affections of the Indians, which serves also as a means, in time of war, of doing great injury to the English, from which much difficulty is to be apprehended at the present time."

The classis of Amsterdam, of September 10, 1742, states that it has received a package containing a miniature painting of the Indians, both men and women, and Weiss' book, entitled, "A Description of the Wild Men in North America, as to their persons, properties, nations, languages, names, houses, dress, appearance (mien, aspect), ornaments, marriages, food, drink, household implements, housekeeping, hunting, fishing, fighting, superstitions, political government, besides other remarkable matters," composed from personal experience by George Michael Weiss, V. D. M.; thus (besides?) the title. This description consists (of) 96 pages and one-half, besides the preface, in 8vo. The preface states his reasons for writing the book, and is signed by him at Burnetsfield, October 4, 1741.

The Holland fathers express themselves very much pleased with his description of the Indians. He also refers to the importance of missionary work among the Indians in his letter of April 25, 1742. He became pastor at Rhinebeck, September 17, 1742, where he celebrated the communion and received 17 into the Church. He stayed at Rhinebeck till June 29, 1746. During his ministry there 115 were added to the membership, and he baptized 120 persons.

Weiss remained in New York state up to 1746, when his fear of an Indian war led him to accept the call to Goshenhoppen.

Thus Weiss in New York state aided in laying the foundation of the Reformed Dutch Church, which was composed at the beginning of this century of a large element of Germans, as much as one-third we have heard it said. He was afterwards succeeded there by some of the ministers who had come to Pennsylvania at first, as Schnor at Esopus, Rubel at Rhinebeck, and others. Our Dutch brethren ought to honor Weiss as the founder of their work among the Germans. He saved their Germans from Episcopacy. And as he founded the German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, so he did in New York state.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION VII.

THE REIFF ACCOUNTS.

This has been one of the most perplexing subjects for the Pennsylvania congregations, the Holland synods and the church historian, to unravel. Fortunately the minutes and correspondence now give a pretty clear idea of the state of affairs. The suspicions of Reiff's integrity began before he returned to America. While he was in Europe the Dutch ministers of New York, on November 2, 1730, wrote to the deputies that they did not have the fullest confidence in Reiff, and suggested that the money in his possession be taken from him. Their fears proved only too true afterwards.

Reiff returned to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1732, the year after Weiss returned. But he did not settle his accounts or hand over the money he had collected to the Philadelphia and Skippack congregations. Weiss, before he left Philadelphia, had left a memorandum of the amount in Reiff's hands, stating that he had 2197 gulden.* The congregations were very much disappointed at this delay and still more disappointed when he said he had only 750 gulden to turn over to them, or about one-third

* A gulden is worth 40 cents.

of the amount that Weiss had led them to believe was coming to them. They were still more disappointed when he did not attempt to turn over that amount to them, although the congregations were greatly in need of money. The congregation at Skippack made no attempt to recover the money from him, perhaps because it was dominated by the influence of Reiff, on whose property its church building stood. But not so the Philadelphia congregation. They took up the matter and kept pushing it for years against him. They wrote to Weiss for information, who replied that he had not received any money from Reiff, except what was necessary for his expenses, and that Reiff, before they separated, had more than 2000 gulden. After waiting patiently for a year after his return they went into court, November 23, 1732, stating that he had 2197 gulden, and asking that he be compelled to deliver over the money. They also asked that he be restrained from departing from the colony, as they were suspicious he was preparing to betake himself to Virginia to escape payment.

The case seems to have hung for nearly a year, and in September, 1733, Reiff filed his reply. In it he refuses to pay, as the consistory who made the charges against him is not the same consistory that gave him the authorization, May 19, 1730, to collect funds. He then describes how he came to go to Holland, that it was not his desire or intention to do so, but that he did it at the earnest request

of the congregation. He denied that he had received 2032 gulden, 12 stuivers. He said he had received 750 gulden in Holland from Van Asten, and also 76 gulden in Germany ; total, 128 pounds and 18 shillings ; that Weiss had suggested to him the idea of putting the money into merchandise, so that something might be realized off it. But the English custom house at Cowes, on the Isle of Wight, detained his goods, June, 1732, as he passed through, and he was forced to leave them behind, but left 49 pistoles (68 pounds, 12 shillings, Pennsylvania money), to pay the customs and freight. He also says that the suit was brought against him by only a part of those who were interested in the money, namely the congregation at Philadelphia, but the congregation at Skippack did not join in with them in the suit.

Nothing came of this action against him, except that Reiff was put for a time under 1000 pounds bail not to leave Pennsylvania, which made him very angry. The Philadelphia congregation could prove nothing, because it did not have sufficient witnesses. The only witnesses who could aid them were the Holland churches who gave the money, and Weiss who was a partner in the transaction. The first were far away across the Atlantic, and the second had betaken himself to another colony, to New York state. Still the Philadelphia congregation did not give up. They next made the attempt to get Weiss to come from New York state to act as a witness, offering to

bear his expenses. They sent to him, both by letter and by express messenger, but he did not come. He, however, wrote to them that Reiff had over 2000 gulden, and that he had advised Reiff against buying merchandise. Diemer also says (1736) that Weiss took an oath and cleared himself that he had realized nothing but 200 gulden for traveling expenses. They also appealed to the classis of Amsterdam's deputies, in Holland, to aid them, March 4, 1733, and asked of them to forward authentic copies of the amounts given to Reiff and Weiss. This the deputies ordered to be done. But it took a number of years and a good deal of trouble to get all the data for the report, which was not sent over until April 21, 1739, when deputy Probsting sent over the amount as 2131 gulden, 12 stuivers, which Reiff had raised in Holland, besides the money he had collected in Germany amounting to 750 Holland shillings. (When Reiff went to Europe again in 1734, the Philadelphia congregation wrote to the classis of Amsterdam, warning them against any effort of his to collect money, and asking them to have him arrested, so that they might examine him about it.)

On April 20, 1734, they try still another plan. As Weiss would not obey their summons to come to Pennsylvania and act as a witness, they ask the classis of Amsterdam, under whose authority he stood in New York, to order him to come to Pennsylvania in order to save the Philadelphia congregation from disruption. The congregation

also appealed to Bœhm the same year to aid them with the classis of New York, as he was in correspondence with it. He did so, but nothing came of it, except that their writing to him about it opened up the way by which he became pastor in Philadelphia. The classis of Amsterdam, however, listened to their appeal, and wrote to Weiss, October 1, 1736, that they would not rest until the 2000 gulden given to Reiff were accounted for, and that if he would have his name free from blame, and if he wished to prevent the cessation of their gifts to him, he would see to it that they were produced. For he wrote to them in a letter received by them, on above date, that he had brought the Reiff matters before the court and was prosecuting Reiff. Weiss saw therefore that something had to be done about the matter, and he went back to Pennsylvania May 8, 1738, to try to arrange matters.*

* The account he then filed was as follows: Receipts according to the collection book, 2104 gulden. Expenditures:

1. For the voyage from Philadelphia, 18 pounds.
2. For board in London during one month, together with duty for me and Jacob Reiff, in all 5 pounds, 7 shillings, 6 pence.
3. For passage from London to Rotterdam for each, 15 shillings sterling, 1 penny (?) for the bed and 3 shillings sterling for board.
4. Expenses for half a year's stay in Holland and necessary journeys, 700 gulden.
5. At Rotterdam, shortly before my return to London, Reiff gave me 250 gulden. Of these I paid the passage from Rotterdam to London. 15 shillings, 1 penny (?) for bed, 6 shillings for board. Passage from London to Maryland, 8 pounds, without refreshments, which I took along. From Maryland to Philadelphia by land and by sea, 3 pounds, 12 shillings, 1 pence board in London, 16 shillings. In addition to my labors and trouble, 50 pounds for the year.

N. B.—Reiff declares that he paid me for clothing and a few books 110 gulden, 14 stuivers.

(When pounds and shillings are mentioned, sterling money is meant.)

Thus the Philadelphia congregation, Weiss and both the synods of Holland and the classis of Amsterdam took every method known to get the money from Reiff. The deputies appealed to the colonial authorities of Pennsylvania, writing to a Mr. Lorang, who turned out to be chief justice Logan. If, however, he could not do anything, he was to give authority to Dorsius and Diemer. Logan wrote back that he had retired from office, and so it was left for Diemer to prosecute. Diemer wrote to the deputies, November 14, 1743, that having received authority from them by letter of May 3, 1739, he had gone ahead and caused Reiff to give security, and had already spent 250 gulden in the matter. Diemer also boasted that he would spend 100 pounds more in order to gain the money. When Dorsius visited Holland in 1743, the deputies asked him what he and Diemer were doing about the matter. He replied that he had more than once urged Diemer to go on, but Diemer did not seem to be in a hurry. The deputies order Dorsius, when he returns to Pennsylvania, to notify Diemer that they would take no notice of any account of his that was not itemized or was not signed by Dorsius as well as himself.

This is as far as the matter got until Schlatter came. Reiff refused to settle, and the Philadelphia congregation was powerless to compel him. All efforts on both sides of the water had failed. It remained for Schlatter to close the matter in March, 1747, by a compromise by which

Reiff paid 100 pistoles. But the baneful influence of the money did not stop with that settlement. It seemed to be Judas money, causing trouble to all who touched it. It was made the basis of a number of charges against Schlatter, until he finally turned over the last of the money in 1755, so that the amount was closed up about twenty-five years after it was collected, although the Philadelphia congregation received part of it by 1747, fifteen years after its collection.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION VIII.

JOHN PETER MILLER.

John Peter Miller was born at Alzenborn, near Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate. His father was minister in the district of Kaiserslautern, as Bœhm states in his letter, November 12, 1730. He was matriculated at Heidelberg University, December 25, 1725. There he was a fellow student of Rieger, who came over to Pennsylvania a year after him. When he came into this country, he was only a candidate for the ministry, and hence he could not have been sent by the Palatinate consistory. They would certainly have ordained him before sending him. He arrived at Philadelphia and took the oath of allegiance, August 29, 1730. He found the Philadelphia congregation without a pastor, as Weiss was in Europe, so he supplied them, agreeing to do so till Weiss returned. He also began preaching to the Reiff party at Skippack.

Bœhm says in a letter of November 12, 1730, that Miller told him that he had promised to supply the congregations at Philadelphia and Germantown till Weiss returned. But to do this rightly he would go to the Presbyterians, so as to gain ordination. Bœhm tried to prevent this, and urged him to apply to the Dutch Reformed

ministers of New York, as he had done, and thus have it done according to the order of the Reformed Church, rather than the Presbyterian. Miller replied that such a procedure would be too tedious and formal. He answered Böhm rather sharply, saying he did not see that it made any difference if the Presbyterians ordained him. He would like to know who had authorized the classis of Amsterdam to rule over the Church in America. The king of England was higher than the classis of Amsterdam, he thought. Böhm replied that he was glad to act under the control of the classis, whereat Miller reprimanded him by saying "that in this land of glorious liberty the people were free to elect their ministers and also to dismiss them, Christians were free and Christ alone was their head." Böhm was greatly displeased and disheartened by Miller's actions, as he failed to bring him under the classis of Amsterdam. Miller persisted in being ordained by the Presbyterians, and applied to their synod of Philadelphia. The synod referred the matter to the Presbytery. The minutes of the Presbyterian synod of September 19, 1730, say that "Mr. John Peter Miller, a Dutch (German) probationer, lately come over, be left to the presbytery of Philadelphia to settle with him in the work of the ministry." Rev. Jedediah Andrews, D. D., pastor of the Presbyterian church at Philadelphia, thus speaks in a letter of October 14, 1730, of Miller's unusual scholarship: "We gave him," he

says, "a question to discuss about sanctification, and he answered it in a whole sheet of paper in a very notable manner. He speaks Latin as well as we speak our native tongue, and so does the other, Mr. Weiss." He was ordained about the close of 1730 by the Presbytery, whose committee, Tennant, Andrews and Boyd, ordained him. He preached at Skippack, as well as at Philadelphia.

We do not know why he left Philadelphia, but he went in 1731 to Tulpehocken and took that congregation away from under the care of Bœhm, who was able to supply it only once or twice a year with preaching and the Lord's Supper on account of its great distance. There Miller labored faithfully for four years, and his congregations were prosperous. But Conrad Beissel, the head of the Seventh Day Dunkards at Ephrata, had determined to proselyte one of the new Reformed ministers if he could. When he heard of the arrival of Miller and Rieger he said "he thought his work would be better carried out if God had provided one of these young preachers for him, for which also he often bowed the knee before God." He first tried to gain Rieger, but when he heard that Rieger had married (marriage was contrary to the rules of his cloister at Ephrata) he broke out into the exclamation: "O Lord, Thou sufferest them to spoil on my very hands."

Beissel then turned his attention to Miller at Tulpehocken. He visited Miller at Tulpehocken in 1735, who with his elders received him according to his dignity

as a man of God. He was accompanied on his return to Ephrata six miles over the country by Miller and Conrad Weiser, the prominent elder of the Lutheran congregation at Tulpehocken. Miller was impressed and later converted to their faith. In the spring of 1735 Miller, together with Conrad Weiser and three elders, besides a number of others (ten heads of families) were baptized by immersion in the new faith. Böhm says that "on a certain day Miller, Weiser and others assembled at the house of Godfried Fidler, and after having collected the Heidelberg Catechism (which he said was man's work, not God's), Luther's Catechism, the psalter and time-honored books of devotion, burned them." The conversion of Miller to the Seventh Day Dunkard faith produced a great sensation among the German colonists, who were divided into many sects and parties. Most of the converts, however, did not remain in the new faith. Böhm says only two men, one of whom was Miller, and one woman remained with the community at Ephrata. Weiser soon after returned to the Lutheran faith, and Rev. Mr. Mühlenberg, the organizer of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, married his daughter.

Miller took a new name at Ephrata and was known as Brother Jabez, and called himself Peter the Hermit. Beissel proposed to place him in his former charge at Tulpehocken as a missionary to proselyte among the Germans there, but Miller refused and made application to be

received into Ephrata, which was granted. He lived 61 years in that society until he died, September 25, 1796. By the time he died he had been greatly disappointed at the failure of his sect. He was a spiritually-minded man, very intelligent, but mystical and ascetic. He was mainly known as a scholar, and after the declaration of independence he translated it into seven languages. He translated it into German in 1778 so as to be read in the various congregations, as this was ordered by congress. The literary activity of Ephrata, which Miller greatly promoted, was very great during the last century, and its publications are now very valuable. Thus they published a Martyr Book, translated from the Dutch into German by Miller, the largest book published in America before the Revolution.

There is a beautiful story of forgiveness told of Miller during the Revolution. There lived in Ephrata a man who distinguished himself for his base conduct towards Miller's Society, who was also known as a traitor to the American cause. Charged with treason, he was condemned to death. No sooner was the sentence pronounced than Miller set out on foot to visit General Washington so as to intercede for the man's life. But he was told his prayer would not be granted for his unfortunate friend. "My friend," exclaimed Miller, "I have not a worse enemy living than this man." "What?" rejoined Washington, "you have walked sixty miles to save the life of your

enemy? That in my judgment puts matters in a different light. I will grant you his pardon." The pardon was made out and without a moment's delay Miller proceeded on foot to the place, fifteen miles distant, where the execution was to take place on the afternoon of the same day. He arrived just as the man was conducted to the scaffold, who, seeing Miller in the crowd, remarked, "There is old Peter Miller, who has walked all the way from Ephrata to have his revenge gratified to-day by seeing me hung." These words had scarcely been spoken when he was made acquainted with the very different object of Miller's visit, namely that his life was spared.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION IX.

REV. JOHN BARTHOLOMEW RIEGER.

John Bartholomew Rieger was from Oberingelheim in the Palatinate. He was the son of John Adam Rieger, and the church records at Oberingelheim say he was born on January 23, 1707.* He studied at Heidelberg, where he matriculated February 14, 1724, as a student of philosophy. He was not a fellow student of Weiss, as has been suggested, for the latter matriculated there six years before. Nor was he a fellow student of John Peter Miller, who came to the university the next year, December 29, 1725, for by that time Rieger had gone to the University of Basle, where he matriculated, April 20, 1724. Why he left Heidelberg and matriculated at Basle two months after he entered Heidelberg we do not know. He arrived at Philadelphia on the ship *Brittannia* from Rotterdam, and took the oath of allegiance, September 21, 1731. He did not come over with Weiss, as has been suggested, for Weiss came by way of Maryland, he by way of Philadelphia.

He was at once accepted as a minister by the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia, and became their pastor

* His tombstone at Lancaster says January 10.

before November 22, 1731, for on that date he wrote to Holland, signing himself pastor of that congregation. He continued their pastor as late as February 23, 1734, when in a letter to Holland he still signs himself as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation. During 1733 he also supplied Skippack and Germantown together with Philadelphia, preaching at each place every third Sunday. His pastorate at Germantown was brief, Bœhm says. Neither does he seem to have succeeded well at Philadelphia, for he left before April 24, 1734, when Bœhm was called to Philadelphia.

After leaving Philadelphia Rieger seems to have gone to Amwell, from which place he writes, February 27, 1735, to Bœhm. The congregation at Amwell demanded that he make an apology to Bœhm before they would accept him. So in this letter he makes a very humble apology for having held services at Skippack in one of Bœhm's congregations without the latter's permission. This apology was made at New York, and signed in the presence of the New York ministers DuBois, Boel and Antonides, and sent to Philadelphia. In that letter he also promises to be subordinate to the classis of Amsterdam, and in doing so he accepted the Canons of Dort, which he afterwards at the second Pennsylvania coetus refused to accept, although he signed it again in 1752. We next find him at Lancaster. Meanwhile his brother, Jacob Frederick Rieger, came to America, September 12, 1734. He settled at Lancaster and became a prominent

surgeon. The latter was also an agent for the new German Bible published by Saur, the printer at Germantown. He is best known through the duel his son Jacob fought with Captain Chambers, May 12, 1789. He died, January 2, 1762, aged 87 years. He must have been a very much older man than the minister. Perhaps it was the residence of his brother that drew John Bartholomew Rieger to Lancaster. At any rate he became pastor there before 1740. He was at Lancaster during the Zinzendorf movement, into which he entered very heartily. Perhaps like Lischy, he had become acquainted with the Moravians at Basle, where he had studied. He took Zinzendorf into his house and on the next Sunday preached a sermon, praising the Moravians very greatly.

The result was that the majority of the congregation at Lancaster turned against him, especially as Zinzendorf had been guilty of making some extravagant boasts. In the reaction Rieger found his place very uncomfortable there. Having gotten into trouble about the Moravians, he concluded the best thing for him to do was to leave the country for a while, until the storm had blown over. So he went back to Holland to study medicine and thus follow in the footsteps of his distinguished elder brother. He matriculated at the University of Leyden, March 20, 1744. He registered as from Oberingelheim, which had been his birthplace. His matriculation has written after his name, "a student of medicine and because of poverty admitted gratis." While he was in Holland he came into

contact with the classis of Amsterdam. On November 5, 1743, he appeared before the classis of Amsterdam. He was asked by the assembly to give them an account of Pennsylvania where he had spent twelve years. He was thanked for this and given a donation of \$10, with a request to answer more fully in writing, which he did, so that classis received a letter, April 13, 1744, giving a description of the condition of the Pennsylvania churches. In it he answers several questions put to him and advises them how to act for their greatest benefit. As the result of this association with the classis he agreed on his return to America to give them fuller information concerning Pennsylvania.

On his return to America he shows new zeal for the Reformed Church. He returned to Lancaster, March, 1745, and began the practice of medicine, which he kept up during the remainder of his life. He was, however, somewhat surprised it seems when he came back to Lancaster, to find that in his absence his place had been taken by another, Rev. Casper Lewis Schnorr, who had come to America in the meantime. The Lancaster congregation had not the greatest confidence in Rieger's adherence to the Reformed ever since he had gone off so much to the Moravians in the days of Zinzendorf. Wilhelmi says in his report to the deputies of 1735 that Rieger, influenced by the Quakers, had refused to baptize children, and publicly taught that one could be saved in any religion of the world. Böhm and Schnorr charge him with some

heresy about the sanctification of infants—that all infants had to pass through a purifying process after death. When Rieger found Schnorr in his place at Lancaster, he sent a letter to Holland signed by a few of his supporters in the congregation. But all his efforts to get back to Lancaster were in vain. Schnorr charges him with having brought over money from Holland for the church, which he failed to deliver. Rieger declared that was not true, and wrote, November 16, 1745, to Holland about it. The deputies wrote to Schnorr, completely exonerating Rieger of the charge. Rieger reports to Holland that he had tried for six months to organize a coetus or synod, and had written to Böhm and Schnorr, the two Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania, but had not received a reply from them about it. The truth was that Rieger was not the man to be a leader of such an organization. He had proved too unreliable and changeable already, and had thus lost the respect of many of the Reformed. He, however, found a small charge at Schafferstown, near Lancaster, where he was preaching when Schlatter came to America. The deputies write to Rieger, June 6, 1746, acquainting him with the fact that Schlatter has been appointed to go to Pennsylvania and organize the Church. They request that he receive Schlatter in love and give him all the assistance possible. They suggest that if he has any accusations to make against Schnorr, as he had suggested, he make them at the first meeting of the coetus soon to be formed. This he does not seem to have done.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION X.

THE GOETSCHIS—FATHER AND SON.*

About the year 1730 there began a new movement of the Swiss emigration to America, just as there had been in 1709. The Graffenried led this new movement was John Peter Pury, of Neuchatel. He had been in the English service, although a Swiss, and there learned much about the English colonies. He conceived a plan of colonizing the southern part of Carolina with brave Swiss. Having been director general of the French East India Company, he was therefore somewhat familiar with such settlements. In 1731 he visited Carolina, and arranged matters. The Assembly at London, August 20, 1731, passed an act securing to him a reward of four pounds for every Swiss he would succeed in bringing to Carolina. He and several of his friends advanced the money, he putting the larger part of his fortune into it. He at once began a strong agitation at home. Switzerland now began to be flooded with pamphlets about Carolina.

On August 1, 1732, one hundred and seventy Swiss

* In this section we enter what has hitherto been a sort of mythical part of our early history, but through the documents that have come to hand it is now clear.

colonists left England, and arrived at Charleston in November, 1732. The emigration began to gain such power that the Swiss governments tried to suppress it. The canton of Zurich published edicts against it again and again, as in 1734, 1735, 1736, 1739, 1741 and 1744. Of the party which left Zurich in 1732, Salomon Hess, one of the leading pastors of the city, says, "There is no good reason at that time for them to leave their fatherland, but they are seized by an insane idea to go to America. Many of them were in good circumstances, and might have remained comfortably at home. A few may have felt oppressed by poverty, but work was plenty. The whole movement must be characterized as a piece of folly."* Berne also changed its tactics. It had originally been favorable to emigration to America, when it sent out Michel at the beginning of the century, but in 1736 it issued an edict against it, and also another in 1742. As the result of the latter edict Grindelwald was arrested and put to death for trying to go. The Swiss cantons tried in every way to discourage the movement. In 1734 the cantons of Zurich, Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen and St. Gall endorsed a booklet called "News and Notices of Things in Carolina," which showed the many dangers of emigration. This pamphlet is interesting to the Reformed of Pennsylvania, because it has in it a part of a

* Quoted by Dubbs in his *History of the German Reformed Church*, page 253.

letter of Guldin of 1734, in which he speaks of the terrible heat in Pennsylvania in summer, so that it was no uncommon thing, nay, rather, it was expected, that if men walked out in the summer's sun they would drop dead on the streets. The government tried to frighten the people into remaining in Switzerland by showing them the dangers from sea robbers, from change of climate, from sickness after their arrival and from the virtual slavery to the sea captains in order to pay their sea passage. Finally in 1754 a booklet appeared describing an awful shipwreck of a large ship, which had sailed from Rotterdam and had gone down near Philadelphia, drowning 468 persons. Still, in spite of all the edicts and warnings, the emigration continued.

One of these colonies was led by Rev. Maurice Goetschi, who had been a minister of the canton of Zurich. He was born in 1686, and became a minister in 1710. He was quite a scholar, especially in Oriental languages, so that he made use of them in his daily lessons at home in his family. He was at first assistant at Bernegg, then (1720) pastor at Salez, where he was deposed in 1731. Still he seems to have retained a great deal of influence there and in the canton, for three years later he is influential enough to lead quite a large colony of Swiss to the new world. He boasted that he would be superintendent of all the German churches in the West Indies.*

* Of this trip we have three accounts, one given by Louis Weber in his pamphlet, "The Limping Messenger." He went with Goetschi as far as

Goetschi's party left Zurich, October 4, 1734. Loher says the entire party numbered 400. At Basle they had to wait a week so as to get passes through to Rotterdam. As France and Austria were at war, it was quite dangerous to go down the Rhine. So, as they could not get a pass through the Austrians, they had to get one through the French by way of Strassburg. The people of Basle were, however, very kind to them, and the city of Basle kindly paid \$17.60 for their pass. They then, 194 in number, took ship down the Rhine. They had to sail very carefully, concealing their fires at night, because the French soldiers were encamped on the west side of the Rhine and the Austrians on the east side. They were fearfully crowded in the boat, so that they could not lie down, yes, were hardly able to sit. They were not able, therefore, to cook. There was much rain and damp weather, but the only place to dry themselves was in the open air. There was, therefore, much suffering, the children were crying and women lamenting. Many would have returned to Switzerland, but could not, as both sides of the Rhine were lined with hostile armies. At Old Brysach they were searched and all their chests opened. As Goetschi went to the commander of the fortress, the latter warned him to depart immediately, as he saw the French were

Rotterdam, and then disgusted turned back to Switzerland again, and afterward wrote this book which is quite severe on Goetschi. The second is a letter by Goetschi, and the third is by his son John Henry after he arrived in America.

training their guns to shoot at them. Goetschi says they almost fell over each other to get back to the boat so as to depart.

At Ketsch, west of Heidelberg, the Austrian army held them up and treated them very roughly. They were required by them to get a new passport. So John Conrad Wirtz, who took upon himself the name of commissary, went to Heidelberg to their commander, the Duke of Wurtemberg, and paid him \$12.40 for the pass. Thus they now had passes from both the French and the Austrians. Nevertheless they had to suffer much at the hands of the Austrian hussars, who made them pay two dollars a ship. These rode along the shore following them for three hours. They took the meat, says Weber, from Goetschi's dish, and when he complained, they drew their swords around his head, so that he clean lost his appetite. They forced money out of many of the travelers, sometimes even the last that they had. Finally the colonists arrived safely at Mayence, where they stayed four days until terms could be made with another captain to take them to Holland. They paid in all \$2.80 for passage from Zurich to Rotterdam for adults.

After leaving Mayence they were more comfortable, as the ship was not so crowded. The ship's people too were more religious, and begged them to pray for a good passage. Henry Scheuchzer read prayers for them morning and evening. Goetschi preached once and by it he

raised a storm. He had before appointed four marriage officials for his party. In his sermon he compared their actions to the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram. For this quite a strife arose between him and them, but all was finally healed over by Wirtz. At Neuwied four couples went ashore to be married, among them Wirtz, who married Goetschi's daughter Anna. The Count of Neuwied tried to retain them there, but he could not, as they were bent on going to Carolina. From Neuwied they went to Culenborg, ten hours from Rotterdam. There they had to remain four days because of the strong wind. Goetschi preached there in the large church to a congregation, he says, of a thousand. The citizens were exceedingly kind, giving them meat, potatoes, beer and forty cents to each. During this stay Goetschi and his family were the guests of the most prominent citizen of the town.

Goetschi now sent three men to Rotterdam, telling them that they would find there two English ships waiting for them to take them to Carolina, and that every arrangement had been made for them to spend the winter in England (none of which was true). The men came back, bringing the news that they could find no English ship. Then all the colonists became very greatly frightened. Goetschi said he could not help them. The owner of the ship made them go off it, as he wanted to return to Mayence. So each took his bundle out of the ship to seek his own fortune. Goetschi hastened away, saying he had

received a letter from Schobinger, of St. Gall, urging him to hasten to the Hague. He immediately went there, taking Wirtz with him, but leaving his wife and children behind at Rotterdam. The colonists remained at Rotterdam, wandering around, not knowing where to go, and almost starving. They suffered much from cold and hunger. Sickness too began to appear among them, and two died. If it had not been for the kindness of some of the citizens of Rotterdam, led by Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi, one of the Dutch pastors there, they would have suffered much more. Meanwhile Goetschi at the Hague had remarkable luck. He had left Switzerland under the delusion that England would send them to the Carolinas. When he arrived at the Hague he called on the British ambassador, Count Walpole, asking that he and his party be taken to England. The Count replied that no one was taken at the royal expense without an express order.

Goetschi therefore addressed himself to Mr. Felss, a statesman (whom he calls antistes), and had a long interview with him. As Goetschi was leaving, Felss said: "For six years we have been seeking a man to organize the churches in Pennsylvania, where the Reformed number 60,000, of whom 20,000 were not yet baptized. Divine providence has sent you to us. I shall have a call made out for you, by which you shall be superintendent-general over the whole state of Pennsylvania, which has eight towns and more than 600 boroughs

and villages. You will have an income of 2000 gulden a year till the organization is completed. I shall see that your people get support from the government. But first a letter must be sent to your government to find out whether you have the requisite testimonials, and you must be examined by our General Synod." Goetschi in his account of this evidently has an exaggerated idea of his field and also of his salary. The states of Holland never promised him 2000 gulden a year, only 2000 gulden the first year. While the negotiations were going on, Goetschi wrote to Rev. J. Baptiste Ott at Zurich for testimonials. Ott wrote to Wilhelmi that Goetschi had gone away against the advice of the Swiss people. Still, as he had gotten as far as Holland, he gave him a letter of introduction to Wilhelmi. Wilhelmi in reply wrote to Ott that Goetschi had arrived with 400 emigrants in midwinter; that while Goetschi went to the Hague to secure passage, he undertook to care for the Swiss who were suffering from hunger and cold, and he provided for their necessities, being aided by two citizens who fed them all the time at their own expense. Wilhelmi asks the Swiss to give Goetschi a testimonial, and also asks what was Goetschi's ecclesiastical standing, as a rumor had come that he had been deposed. He also says the day appointed for Goetschi to sail was February 1. Ott replied (but if they sailed on that date, they were off before the letter arrived), February 5, 1735, acknowledging that Goetschi had been

deposed for immorality. But his great energy and ambition led him to continue hoping for better things. He was therefore led to lay plans for a colony to Carolina. Ott puts the best face on the matter that he can, so as to aid Goetschi. He compares him to repentant Onesimus of the New Testament, and hopes a better future for him in the new world, among new surroundings, as he was a man of ability.

Meanwhile it seems from the account of Weber that there was danger lest Goetschi's colonists might make trouble against him in Holland and spoil the arrangement about to be consummated by Goetschi with the state. We do not know how much of Weber's story is to be readily believed, for he is very bitterly prejudiced against Goetschi, but he says that while the Swiss were at Rotterdam they became so poor and so disgusted with Goetschi's continued deceptions of them that they went to Wilhelmi, who suggested that they go to Felss at the Hague. So they sent three men to the Hague, where Goetschi was, to complain against him. Now if this dissatisfaction had reached the ears of the Holland government, Goetschi's plans might have been overturned. He, however, was adroit enough to frustrate them. Before going to Felss, the three men first went to Goetschi, and told him of their intention, at which he was greatly displeased. He, however, told them that Felss knew all about the matter, and that they did not need to go to him. Mean-

while he kept them to dinner, inviting to it a Mr. Schobinger, who had been very active for Goetschi's cause at the Hague, and also a Zollikofer, of St. Gall, as well as Wirtz, his son-in-law. After eating, Goetschi said he would give them a letter to Wilhelmi at Rotterdam. They waited for an hour for him to bring the letter. After the hour was past he came and told them that he had sent it by his own son. He thus kept them busy till too late to see Felss, so they went back to Rotterdam without having accomplished their object. Soon after Goetschi came and told them that he had been appointed to Pennsylvania, and they must go with him. They agreed to it, and thus the whole colony was diverted from Carolina, whither they started, to Pennsylvania. Weber says they left Rotterdam, February 24, 1735. Wilhelmi says they were to leave in February.

They were twenty-four hours in sailing to England, and at the end of two days were at the Isle of Wight. There, at Cowes, the captain took on provisions, and the emigrants provided themselves with medicines. On the third day out they had a terrible storm and tremendous waves. This they had to bear for twelve weeks. The storms were severe, but they had perils in the ship worse than the storm. Many became sick, because their food was as bad as that of the galley slave, and as for the water, it soon became stale, stinking and wormy. They had for a captain a tyrant, who treated them worse than

dogs. If any one said he wanted to cook something for the sick, the captain replied: "Get yourself gone, or I will throw you overboard." Finally they saw land, but the wind being unfavorable, they still sailed three days, when a south wind brought them to the mouth of the Delaware. According to the Pennsylvania archives Goetschi arrived on the ship *Mercury*, William Wilson, master, and its passengers qualified at Philadelphia, May 29, 1735.

When they arrived at Philadelphia Goetschi was not well. The care and worry before sailing and the unhealthy conditions on shipboard had made him sick. The day before he arrived, the elders of the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia came on board the vessel to see him. They received him with great joy, when they saw his certificate from Holland. They told him of their church affairs and greeted him as their own pastor. He replied heartily to them, summoning up his strength as if he were well. On the next day they came and took him ashore. But when his feet touched the ground, he was so weak that he could not walk unaided. So they brought him a chair, and in it he was carried to the house where they were to meet him. Many people had gathered there wanting to talk over church affairs with him. But of his own family there were none with him, as his wife and children had remained on the ship. He finally said that all appeared dark before his eyes, and asked that he

might lie down and sleep. They would not let him sleep in the room on the first floor, as it was noisy there, and all kinds of people were coming and going. They, therefore, attempted to carry him into a chamber on the second floor. When they were about the middle of the flight of stairs he sat down, folded his hands across his breast, lifted his eyes to heaven and expired. On the third day after, he was buried in the church yard of the principal Presbyterian church in Philadelphia with elaborate ceremonies. The funeral procession was considerable, and contained members of the consistories of the Reformed churches and a great many members. He left a wife and eight children, of whom John Henry, aged seventeen, was the oldest, strangers in a strange land.

In their distress young John Henry writes, July 21, 1735, to Rev. Mr. Werdmiller, assistant of St. Peter's church, Zurich, giving the description of the voyage and of his father's death, and asking for aid, which could be sent to Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi at Rotterdam. He also states how he began to preach here. When the people found that he was a student for the ministry, they were delighted when they saw the certificate of his studies, and insisted on his preaching. He was, therefore, the boy preacher of the early Reformed. He says he preached to them every Sunday twice and had catechization twice. The first Sunday he preached at Philadelphia morning and evening, and after service he had catechization. On the second

Sunday he preached at Skippack (where was a very large congregation) in the morning, then had catechization, and in the afternoon he had service and catechization at Old Goshenhoppen. On the third Sunday he preached at New Goshenhoppen and had catechization in the morning. In the afternoon he preached and catechized at Great Swamp, where was a large congregation. He received his certificate from Zurich, May 28, 1736, that he had attended the college there for one year, and they had hopes of his becoming a good minister when he had to leave school. He said he was minded to have the Presbyterians ordain him the coming Christmas, so that he could perform all the ministerial acts as well as preaching.

The minutes of the Presbyterian synod, under date of May 27, 1737, have the following notice :

“A letter was brought in from Mr. Henricus Goetschius to Mr. Andrews, signifying his desire and the desire of many people of the German nation that he might be ordained by order of the synod to the work of the ministry, upon which the said Mr. Goetschius was desired to appear before the synod that they might see his credentials and have some intercourse with him ; which being done, he produced testimonials from Germany, which were ample and satisfactory to the synod respecting his learning and good Christian conversation, whereupon he was recommended to the care of the presbytery of Philadelphia, to act upon further trials of him with respect to his ordination as to them should seem fit.”

When the matter came up before the presbytery, it

refused to ordain him, because of his lack of preparation and of theological knowledge. They advised him to continue his studies. He was, therefore, not ordained by them, but nevertheless he kept on preaching without ordination, and performed the other ministerial duties. On the title page of the church book of Goshenhoppen he says he ministered to the congregations at Skippack, Old and New Goshenhoppen, Great Swamp, Egypt, Maxatawny, Moselem, Oley, Berne and Tulpehocken. Böhm says he also preached at Cacusi. Prof. William J. Hinke, who carefully examined the church records, says: "The church record at Egypt has always been supposed to have been opened by Goetschi in 1733, but on closer examination the date turns out to be 1739. Dr. Weiser says that he opened the church record of New Goshenhoppen in 1731, but the title page written by Goetschi has no date, and the first baptism was evidently not written by him, because it is clearly written by a different hand, perhaps by Miller. The only records made by Goetschi there are between 1736 and 1739." This obviates the necessity of a supposition that there were two Goetschis.* Goetschi

* That there were not two Goetschis is shown by the following:

1. The Zurich records know only one John Henry Goetschi.
2. Böhm in all his correspondence speaks of only one, and his descriptions tally with this one, namely that he was a young man and preached without ordination.
3. John Henry Goetschi himself never mentions any other Goetschi. This he would certainly have done in his letter to Switzerland, when after the sudden death of his father he asks for help. There would have been no need of his appealing to Switzerland, if he had had a near relative here in Pennsylvania.

was quite active among his widespread congregations. He opened the church book at Great Swamp, April 24, 1736. Böhm complains of his intrusion into his work in Oley, and speaks of his being there, January 14, 1739. Böhm says that he received the Lord's Supper for the first time in America from Rieger at Germantown, and began preaching immediately afterward. This is shown by the certificate of Goetschius which he received from the Germantown congregation in 1744, as follows :

“Grace and blessing to the reader.

“John Henry Goetschius is a member of our Reformed congregation at Germantown. Having made a profession of his faith, November, 1736, and having led a consistent life, he has hereby proven himself worthy of participating with us in the Lord's Supper, having evinced this satisfactorily to Rev. Bartholomew Rieger, whom he called at that time to preside at the table of the Lord for our congregation, so that we admitted him to the participation of the Holy Supper with us, which as elders and presiding officers of this congregation we now attest, and in the absence of our former minister have endorsed with our own hand.

JOHN BECHTEL,
ENGELBERT SACK,
JOHN RUSH,
PAUL GEISSEL.

“Done in Germantown, February 19, 1744.”

Thus, while Böhm endeavored to gather the churches into a unity under the Holland Church, Goetschi set up

the spirit of independence. He claimed that he had authority for this (as did Reiff and his followers before Goetschi came) in a letter of Wilhelmi written in 1730, and brought over to America, Bœhm says, by Weiss. This letter troubled Bœhm very much. It was a long letter. It was addressed to some one at Skippack or Philadelphia. The writer speaks of having received the protest against Bœhm's ordination and forwarded it to the classis of Amsterdam, as they had acted on the case. But as they had confirmed Bœhm's ordination, he had given it to the committee of the classis of Rotterdam, who had appointed ten commissioners, three from the classis, three from Delft and four deputies of synod, to report to the classis. This letter suggests that each congregation has a right to act for itself, if the classis of Amsterdam will not act, and that Skippack organize a church council to summon all the persons before it who wrote to the classis of Amsterdam in Bœhm's favor and succeeded in getting the classis to have him ordained. These men, for deceiving the classis, were to be disciplined, as also Bœhm. They were then to make a report of the case and send it to the classis of Amsterdam. This letter goes on to give a regular church constitution for organizing the Reformed churches all over the country into an assembly of twenty-four persons. This assembly should divide the country up into five parishes, each parish to have a church. It then goes on to give regulations for ministers, elders, deacons and consistories, over which there should be a high

consistory. The letter then proceeds to show how money could be raised at a shilling apiece to cover all the expenses of the church. It was quite an elaborate scheme, but it gave the starting of the Church independent of Bœhm and the classis of Holland. It was, therefore, quoted by Bœhm's enemies as favoring them. His enemies along the Perkiomen could say, we too have some one in Holland who favors us in being independent of you, and that is Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi. They also claimed that they had a church order as well as Bœhm. Bœhm says that he saw this letter for the first time in 1732, but he could not get hold of it for a number of years. Finally, in 1740, he succeeded and he sent a copy of it to the deputies. He says that he firmly believed the letter was a forged letter for the following reasons :

1. That it was not the original, but a German translation made by Weiss, and therefore had not the authority of an original.

2. That the signature is written by the very hand of the translator, and the name of the translator is not appended. This ought to be different.

3. The letter of six sheets is sewed together and sealed. But the seal is not Wilhelmi's, as he had Wilhelmi's seal on two letters in three forms and none of them were like this.

4. Bœhm says when he heard of it he wrote to Wilhelmi, and the latter in a letter, dated June 30, 1736, repudiated the letter.

5. The letter, in its instructions for organization, is almost the same as the report published by the South Holland synod. But in their report nothing is mentioned about the liberty of a congregation to be virtually independent.

We might also add that we do not find a reference to this letter in the acts of the deputies or the synod. Bœhm was right. The letter was concocted by Reiff and based on the regulations published by the Holland synod, with an introduction composed by himself, so as to give his congregations the right to independence. But whether forged or not, Goetschi showed it everywhere as his authority over against Bœhm. He seems to have still sought for ordination. The South Holland synod, 1738, proposed that he be ordained, and asked whether this could not be done by the Presbyterian synod or some neighboring ministers, or those sent there for that purpose. Goetschi continued preaching till about 1739, when he seems to have given up the work. The South Holland synod of 1740 says that after having performed all the work of a qualified minister, he had stopped and gone to Bucks county to finish his studies. He there lived half a mile from Dorsius. He studied under Dorsius, and then Dorsius, Tennent and Frelinghuysen, the Dutch pastor on the Raritan, ordained him, April, 1741. (Bœhm says, April 7, 1740, that Goetschi, February 21, 1740, asked Bœhm's forgiveness for all he had done against him, and promised he would live according to church order, but

on April 20 we find him trying to give the communion to one of Bœhm's congregations at Tulpehocken.) For this act of Dorsius in ordaining Goetschi, the classis of Amsterdam was very angry, as he had no authority from them to do it, and he was censured. It later proved to be an unfortunate thing. Goetschi even before his ordination left Pennsylvania and went, October, 1740, to Long Island, where the congregations of Newtown, Jamaica, Hempstead and Oesterbay had given him a call. Into his later difficulties there we have not time to enter, as he passes thus out from the German Reformed into the Dutch Reformed Church. Some of his own members refused to recognize him as properly ordained. The coetus of New York, which he joined by going to Long Island, recommended him to the classis of Amsterdam, but they refused to recognize him as a minister, claiming his ordination was irregular. Many of his congregation kept on refusing to recognize him. Negotiations dragged along for eight years, and finally he consented in 1748 for the sake of peace to be examined and ordained, although he had been in the ministry since his ordination for seven years, and since he began it irregularly thirteen years. He afterwards became pastor at Hackensack in New Jersey in 1748, where Muhlenberg met him, and Goetschi gave him much information concerning God's kingdom. Goetschi's ministry was blessed with great revivals. He was a man of considerable erudition, a thorough Calvinist, the editor of several books, and one of the first trustees of Queens College.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XI.

PETER HENRY DORSIUS.*

In 1730 the consistory of the Dutch Reformed church in Bucks county wrote to two clergymen in Holland—Knibbe of Leyden and Wilhelmi of Rotterdam—asking for a minister. They sent funds for his traveling expenses to America, and promised to pay him 144 dollars a year. The ministers wrote back, saying they had found a young man who was willing to go to Pennsylvania, but he had not yet finished his studies. They, therefore, asked whether a part of the money sent on for traveling expenses might be appropriated to help him in his studies, in order that he might become their pastor. The congregation granted this. This young man was Peter Henry Dorsius. We find that he was then at Groningen, having been matriculated there, April 5, 1734. In 1736 he went to Leyden, where he matriculated, September 17, 1736, aged 25 years. The record says that he was born at Meurs in Germany. Strange to say, he was a fellow student at Leyden of Michael Schlatter. He was still studying at Leyden, March 12, 1737, and on July 11 of that year

* Not Dorstius, as Harbaugh has it, because in all his letters he signs himself Dorsius.

he appeared before the deputies. He had not been under their direct care before, but had been aided privately by the congregation in Bucks county under the supervision of the two ministers mentioned above. However, as he was now going to America, he asked the deputies whether he could serve them in any way there. He stated that he was called to America at a salary of 144 dollars a year. The deputies saw their opportunity. They had been seeking for years for a minister who was going to America. So they ask him to give them all the information he can about Pennsylvania, especially about the Reformed in that colony. Dorsius replies the next year. His later letter (June, 1749) is so interesting that we give the first part of it. He writes thus to the deputies :

“It is about twelve years ago, after I was consecrated (licensed) on April 30, 1737, by the classis of Shieland at Rotterdam, and on May 29 ordained by the theological faculty of Groningen to be a minister of the gospel, that I undertook, on July 11, 1737, the great and perilous voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia, when we did not arrive safely at Philadelphia till October 5th however, with the loss of several persons who died at sea and were buried in the great ocean. There I inquired immediately after my location. I at once learned at the very beginning that I had been sadly misled, and thus was sadly deceived in my expectation, being compelled to preach for a whole year in the barn of one farmer after another, because there was no church building ; and at the same time take up my lodging with one family after the other in the woods, as

they are accustomed to describe it in this land. This made me think of speedily returning, but was held back by my conscience and the example of the apostles and the early Christians."

He then speaks of being encouraged to remain by the letters of deputy Probsting, of Holland, so that he finally decided to stay and minister to the congregation. He says he preached several times in his early ministry in Philadelphia, either in the Swedish church or in a hired house, to one of the German congregations there.

With him there came a student for the ministry, Van Basten, who determined to sail with him without waiting for ordination by the deputies. Van Basten, however, consulted with Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi at Rotterdam before sailing as to the manner in which he could be ordained in Pennsylvania. The latter said that as a member of classis he could not license him, but he thought that Dorsius, together with one or two ministers in America, could do that, as there was as yet no classis there. Van Basten, after his arrival, preached in Pennsylvania. Bœhm in a letter of March 10, 1738, says: "Van Basten travels about the country preaching here and there, pretending to be sent here by Holland." In 1740 the South Holland synod says of him that "he had been away from Pennsylvania for more than two years, preaching at Brooklyn and on Long Island without being allowed to administer the sacraments, his life being unseemly at both places. Just

now they say he is at Fishkill, where he is allowed to preach on condition that he abstain from drink." We hear nothing further of him, and he probably dropped out of the ministry because of intemperance.

As Dorsius had been asked by the deputies to correspond with them, he sent a letter March 1, 1738, describing Pennsylvania and its churches, but omits in his letter any reference to Bœhm's work. He had offered to the deputies to do anything they wanted, and they soon gave him work to do. The South Holland synod sent around to all its classes asking them to suggest questions to be proposed to Dorsius. A response was expected from them within three months by the deputies. At the deputies' meeting of November 12, 1737, it was found that a number of questions were proposed by the classes. Deputy Van Meurs was asked to collate these. He did so, and his letter was submitted to the deputies of the South Holland synod, who also submitted it to the deputies of the North Holland synod. As a result thirteen questions were sent to Dorsius by deputy Probsting, June 9, 1738, asking for information about Pennsylvania. Dorsius having received them, summoned Bœhm to visit him, which he did, November 28, 1738. He asked him to aid him in gaining information about several of the questions sent him, viz. :

1. How many German Reformed congregations there are in Pennsylvania.

2. How many congregations each minister serves, and how many elders, deacons and communicants there are in each congregation.

3. How matters stand with the school-masters and precentors in the congregations.

Boehm at once proceeded to gather the desired information. He even made a winter journey to his most distant congregations, Tulpehocken and Conastoga, although he ordinarily visited these congregations only twice a year, in spring and fall, when the weather was more pleasant than in winter. By January and February, 1739, Dorsius had, with the aid of Bœhm, formulated and furnished a complete report, which he afterwards sent to Holland.

In 1743 he revisited Holland. He left New York, May 26, 1743, and arrived at Texel, in North Holland, July 14. He appeared before the North Holland synod, which met July 26 and 27 at Hoorn. He there made a report about Pennsylvania to that synod, and for his trouble they gave him a present. He appeared before the deputies at the Hague, September 16, 1743, and made to them a report about Pennsylvania. They made him a present of twelve dollars in recognition of his trouble. They, however, asked him why he came to Holland. He replied that he had come over to consult the deputies about his future, whether he would be permitted to leave his congregation and accept another, and also whether he could

organize a congregation in Philadelphia and unite it with his congregation in Bucks county, so that in some way he might receive more salary. For his salary had become reduced from \$144 to \$96, because his young people became English, and besides the Moravians and the Romanists were active in his neighborhood. The only remedy was to send more ministers with salaries guaranteed by deputies. The deputies gave him permission to change his charge or to organize another at Philadelphia.

But Dorsius did not stay long. Several reasons hastened him home, as the threatened war between England and France and domestic engagements. Besides, the deputies urged his speedy return, for they gave him instructions to make out for them a fuller report of the condition of the Reformed in Pennsylvania. This he was to have ready by February, 1744, so that it might be sent to Holland in time to arrive there before the synods met in the summer, so that they might take action on it. He hastened to sail, but missed the vessel he wanted to take. He sailed from Rotterdam, October 19, 1743, O. S.,* and landed at Philadelphia, January 16, 1744, O. S.

He now prepared an elaborate report of the condition of the Pennsylvania churches. For it Bœhm prepared by far the largest and most complete report he had yet transmitted. To this Dorsius added a plan in his letter of Feb-

* O. S. means old style, the old method of reckoning, and N. S. means new style, or our present method of reckoning. There were eleven days between them. Thus October 19, O. S., means October 30, N. S.

ruary 16, 1744, by which the Pennsylvania congregations could be made self-supporting, namely, by dividing the congregations into six charges, two of which were already supplied with ministers, namely Bœhm and Rieger, so only four more ministers were needed. It is, however, noticeable in this division of the congregations that Dorsius is careful to appropriate Philadelphia to himself. He evidently had an eye on Philadelphia, where Bœhm was then preaching. He also suggested in the report the formation of a coetus. Dorsius also did considerable educational work in preparing students for the ministry, as Goetschi, Frelinghuysen, jr., Frymoet (whom Dorsius appointed to the Minnisink, and who had been a gentleman's servant before); Du Bois and Marinus—all of whom studied for some time under him.

When Schlatter arrived Dorsius received him kindly. Schlatter says that he expressed himself pleased with his commission, and promised him all the assistance necessary in carrying it out. Nevertheless he does not seem to have given Schlatter much assistance. He did not attend either the preliminary conference, October, 1746, or the first coetus, September, 1747, although he gave as a reason for his absence from the first the ill health of his wife. It looks, from a letter of Dorsius of January 19, 1747, as if he did not enter as heartily into Schlatter's efforts as he had professed. He says in that letter that Schlatter had no right to make an examination of his con-

sistory, as it was contrary to his instructions, which said he had to do with the German congregations, and not with the Dutch. He also says that his congregation is not under the Holland Church, but independent. He says Schlatter would stretch his authority too far, as he himself had done some years before (as inspector), to his injury and loss. He acquaints Schlatter with the fact that the week after his visit his consistory met and utterly refused to allow any examination to be made by Schlatter. He says he will be glad to give an explanation, but he serves notice on Schlatter that his work was among the German churches and not among the Dutch. But although Dorsius says this, January 19, 1747, his consistory, May 2, 1748, went to Philadelphia to confer with Schlatter about their church, but found him away, and ask him to come up, June 2, 1748. They say they trust they are rid of Dorsius, and hope that Schlatter will get them another minister. The truth was that Dorsius was morally in a bad condition. His moral character was breaking down. His consistory appealed to Schlatter to aid them in the trouble with him. Dorsius' wife, Joanna Hoogland, to whom he had been married, December 16, 1740, left him on account of drunkenness. His father-in-law exposed him in the Pennsylvania Gazette, June 16, 1748, and his consistory suspended him from the ministry, September 1, 1749.

Although the danger of war was great, yet he sailed from Philadelphia for Ireland on August 4, 1748, and

finally arrived at Rotterdam, October 1, 1748, O. S. He does not appear before the deputies until June 13, 1749. He had been supplying churches at Rotterdam and Maaslings, and had been asked to become assistant at Isselstern. He presented to the deputies a summary of his work in Pennsylvania, with suggestions for properly organizing the congregations. He appears again before the deputies, January 20, 1750, asking for a dismissal, so that he could accept an appointment by the Dutch West India Company to d' Elmina in West Africa. The deputies examined their former acts at the time of his first departure to Pennsylvania, and decided that he had not been appointed by them to go to Philadelphia, but that it was a private arrangement between the Bucks county congregation and himself. They therefore answered him that as they did not appoint him to that position, it was not in their power to dismiss him, but that he must look to the congregation for his dismissal. The deputies learned at their meeting of May 27, by a letter of his wife, about his scandalous conduct in Pennsylvania, and they refused to do anything for him. They referred him to the classis of Amsterdam for examination into his case. On January 13, 1750, he had appeared before the classis of Amsterdam, offering to go to d' Elmina under the West India Company, but classis would not allow it to go into effect till he had shown papers of dismissal and appeared before classis. Although they repeatedly appealed to him to

appear before them, he did not do so. By October 5, 1750, they had learned from the deputies of his conduct in Pennsylvania, which fact the classis communicated to the West India Company. The Holland Church, as well as the coetus, tried to aid Dorsius' wife by gifts of money for many years.

The last mention of gifts to her by the coetus is in 1776, up to which time, from 1752, the coetus granted to her \$244.70, mainly in amounts from seven to fifteen dollars yearly.

Thus Dorsius, though the pastor of a Dutch congregation in Pennsylvania, very considerably affected the German congregations by his oversight, his visitation of some of them, and also by his reports about them to Holland.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XII.

THE SYNODS OF THE CONGREGATION OF GOD IN THE SPIRIT.

The first great controversy among the Reformed occurred in 1742. It came at first in the guise of union, but soon developed into disunion. The Germans of Pennsylvania contained among them a great many diverse elements. Besides the churchly element, composed of Lutherans and Reformed, there were many sects, as Dunkards, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and even some converts to Quakerism, besides many mystics, as Inspirationists, the New-born, Labadists, Ronsdorfers, etc. For the Germans as a race are naturally inclined toward religious things. It was out of Germany and German Switzerland that the Reformation was born. This peculiarity became prominent, especially as many of them had come to America for the sake of religious liberty. They were, therefore, a religious people. And as there were so few ministers among them, these sects found abundant opportunity to spread their influence unhindered. In 1736 John Adam Gruber, of Oley, the Inspirationist, issued a call urging the religious elements to come into some sort of a union. The coming of Whitefield into Pennsylvania, although he preached only in English,

yet stimulated the religious life of the Germans very much. In 1740 he preached at the house of Henry Antes at Falkner Swamp, where Bishop Bohler, the Moravian, preached the same afternoon in German.

Henry Antes is an interesting religious character. He was born at Freinsheim in Rhenish Bavaria in 1701. He was a leading man in the business life of the community, especially in the making of wills and the settling of estates, because every one had confidence in his integrity and judgment. And he was also a leader in the church in that district, "the pious Reformed elder of Falkner Swamp," as he was called. He seconded the appeal of Gruber, and when Whitefield came, he gave him a hearty welcome. Even before Whitefield's arrival in Pennsylvania, the Moravians had begun to evangelize there. Bishop Spangenberg visited it in 1736, spending some time at Skippack, where Antes became acquainted with him. All these events prepared Antes for the part he took in the Congregation of God in the Spirit, and later in the Moravian Church.

Such was the condition of the Germans at the beginning of the fourth decade of the last century. The various elements among them had been religiously stimulated and were ready for only a spark to ignite them. The coming of Count Zinzendorf, the head of the Moravian Church,*

* The Moravian Church in the last century was in Europe a splendid witness for the truth against the tide of rationalism that went over Germany; but on the other hand she was charged with trying to proselyte among the different denominations.

brought matters to a crisis. Zinzendorf says he found the Germans in Pennsylvania a perfect Babel. He undertook to gather them into the Moravians under the idea of tropes (with which the Moravians were very familiar in Europe.) The idea of tropes (circles of believers) was founded on Scripture in Philippians 1 : 18 : "What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached." The word for "way" in the Greek is "tropos." The idea of tropes meant that members of other denominations who were earnest Christians could form circles by themselves in their own denominations. But, although they still remained members of the other denominations, these tropes would be connected with the Moravian Church and thus under their control, and really a part of their Church. The Moravians had churches of this kind at various places in Europe, as Geneva and Basle, where circles of Moravians were still members of the Reformed Church.

Zinzendorf planned to do in America what had been done by them in Europe. He aimed at a union denomination, in which there would be a Reformed trope or circle composed of the Reformed members in the union, and a Lutheran trope composed of the Lutherans, etc., but all these tropes being under the control of the Moravian Church. He could the more easily introduce these tropes among the Reformed, because they, especially along the northern Rhine, were accustomed to "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*,"

(a little church within the church), composed of the spiritually-minded, who would hold prayer meetings for spiritual edification. Zinzendorf could still more easily carry this movement into effect, for he himself was a peculiar combination religiously. According to his creed he was a Lutheran, for he had received the Augsburg Confession, which the Moravians also accepted. (Indeed he claimed to the Lutherans in America to represent the true Lutheranism, the piety of Luther's early life before scholasticism gained control.) Again, he could well represent the Reformed, for had he not been ordained by the head of the Reformed Church of the Electorate of Brandenburg, Jablonsky, who was also a Moravian Bishop? So he was Lutheran and Reformed, and yet the head of the Moravian Church.

He arrived at Philadelphia in December, 1741, and soon after went up to Oley. At Falkner Swamp he met Henry Antes, who became deeply interested in him, so much so that he accompanied him to the Forks of the Delaware (Bethlehem) where Zinzendorf was laying out a colony for the Moravians. Antes spoke to him on the subject of church union. It was just the thought that Zinzendorf had uppermost in his mind. And when Antes suggested that a circular be sent out, such as had been sent out by Gruber in 1736, Zinzendorf told him to go ahead and issue it; the sooner, the better. Antes, therefore, issued his circular, December 15, 1741, O. S., calling for a meeting of all who desired union. It said that they were to meet "not for

the purpose of disputing, but in order to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith, and to ascertain how far we might agree on most essential points for the purpose of promoting mutual love and forbearance." The circular called for a meeting at Germantown on January 1, O. S.

For Zinzendorf had already gained great influence at Germantown. The pastor of the Reformed church there, at that time, was John Bechtel. He was born October 3, 1690, at Weinheim, in the Palatinate. His mother died when he was nine years old and his father when he was fourteen. Then he learned the trade of turner at Heidelberg. After serving his time at the trade, in 1709 he traveled, as the German apprentices are accustomed to do, to further learn at their trades. He said that he was wild and frivolous for three years, but then came under the influences of the Holy Spirit and became deeply penitent for his sins. In 1714 he started at his trade at Heidelberg, married the next year, and in 1717 he moved to Frankenthal. In 1726 he, with his family of a wife and three daughters, came to America, and settled at Germantown. He found a Reformed congregation there without a pastor. The Swedish Lutheran minister, Dylander, in the absence of a pastor for it, had laid its corner-stone in 1719; and in 1725 the church had a bell, which was a sign that its members had some means. The Pennsylvania Historical Magazine (vol-

ume 19), says: "He began holding religious meetings for the Reformed two years after he settled there. At first he held them in his own house, not only on Sunday, but every morning and evening on week days." The congregation in 1733 called him as pastor. A license to preach was sent him from Heidelberg. He was ministering to the Reformed when Zinzendorf arrived.

His congregation had always inclined to pietism, for it was located in the midst of the sects who first settled Germantown. He himself became early acquainted with the leaders of the Moravians who were in Pennsylvania. In 1738 he met Spangenburg, when he was at Skippack, and Bechtel was in the habit of visiting him every four weeks. So when Zinzendorf arrived, Bechtel was prepared to sympathize with his movement. And yet it seems that he underwent a severe struggle before he first met Zinzendorf personally. Perhaps he instinctively felt it would ultimately change his whole career, as it did. Jordan says that Bechtel's daughter tells the following incident of her father:

"On Zinzendorf's arrival at New York he wrote to my father to meet him in Philadelphia. Through fear of incurring the displeasure of such of his friends as had been prejudiced against the Count, he hesitated to comply with this request. I urged him to go. I gave him no rest, and as my verbal persuasions were of no avail, I ran to the pasture, caught his riding horse, and had it saddled, bridled and brought to the door. This appeal father

could not resist, and out of regard for me he rode to town to see the remarkable man, who impressed me so deeply when I saw him the next day at our house, and indelibly so when two weeks later I heard him for the first time proclaim the words of eternal life."

After Bechtel had thus called to see him Zinzendorf came to Germantown, and the next morning after his arrival visited Bechtel. He said to Bechtel that he wanted to see his place of work. Bechtel who was a turner by trade, naturally thought he wanted to see his turner-shop, and did not notice that Zinzendorf referred to his church, in which he had preached many years. At last when he comprehended what Zinzendorf meant, he took him into the church. Zinzendorf asked him how many persons it would hold. Bechtel replied, "about a thousand." Zinzendorf replied that he saw there was a wide field for work when he returned. Zinzendorf was thus trying to gain influence in Bechtel's field. Twice he told Bechtel that he wanted to be his confessor or private chaplain. As a result Bechtel became infatuated with him and threw open his church to him. Zinzendorf preached a course of sermons there on 1 Timothy 3: 16, beginning the first of the year, 1742. Thus Germantown was being prepared to receive the first of the synods of the Congregation of God in the Spirit.

The First Conference, January 1 and 2, O. S.

The first conference met at Germantown, at the house of Theobald Endt.* The circular of Antes said that it was believed there would be a large assembly, but hoped that that fact would not keep any one away. It was attended by quite a number of persons who came, some expecting great results from the movement, others out of curiosity. Most of the various German denominations were represented, Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, Dunkards, Schwenkfelders, Moravians, Mystics and Separatists. Of these the only ones who had been regularly appointed to represent their denomination were the four delegates from the Seventh-day Dunkards of Ephrata.† The rest came merely in their individual capacity and did not represent their denominations, as they had not been appointed by them. In this conference the Reformed were represented by Antes, Bechtel and others. Altogether more than eight denominations were represented, and there were thirty-six members. Among the number was one Reformed minister, Rev. Samuel Guldin, who attended the first session.

But although it was intended to be a conference on union, very soon dissimilar elements came to the surface. It seems that Conrad Matthai, one of the Mystics along the Wissahickon, together with a tailor named Schierwagon,

* It was situated next to Bechtel's house on the west side of Main street, near Queen Lane.

† A sect who believed in immersion and celibacy, and kept Saturday as Sunday.

criticised Zinzendorf's public teaching in a paper which they presented. Zinzendorf replied severely, which frightened them. The Seventh-day Dunkards seconded Zinzendorf, and as Zinzendorf reproved him, there was a considerable disturbance, and some saw that he was acting as the judge as well as defendant in the matter under discussion. The result was that many good people went away from the first session, saddened at the want of harmony, and did not come again. He also became involved in a controversy with a Seventh-day Dunkard. Still the published proceedings of the conference say all was harmony, although Fresenius gives the other side. In spite of difficulties and differences it was determined to hold a second conference at Falkner Swamp. The minutes of this conference were signed by nine persons (not, however, by the Seventh-day Dunkards present).

*The Second Conference at Falkner Swamp, January 14
and 15, O. S.*

This was held at the house of George Huebner. It was considerably smaller than the first conference at Germantown. From Germantown there came only Bechtel. The Seventh-day Dunkards sent delegates. Soon, however, there appeared a controversy. There was present a former Moravian, Haberrecht, of Georgia, who had left the Moravians and gone to the Seventh-day Dunkards. He remained with them two years and then returned to the Moravians. The Seventh-day Dunkards naturally

objected to his admission, while the Moravians were favorable to him. The controversy Zinzendorf passed over as a love-strife. But Haberrecht stayed to the conference. The lot (as was the custom of the Moravians) was constantly consulted before anything was done. It was always kept lying on the table. The minutes of the conference were signed by twelve persons, one of them from Amwell, N. J. The conference was declared undenominational.

The Third Conference at Oley, February 10—12, O. S.

It was held at the house of John De Turck. This conference revealed still further the beginnings of disorganization in the movement, for the Seventh-day Dunkards were not represented, but sent two letters instead in reference to the subject of marriage, which caused quite a discussion. They withdrew because by this time they saw that there was no possibility of their gaining Zinzendorf over to their ideas of immersion and celibacy. Still while the movement was disintegrating by the loss of some of its varied elements, it was also becoming more compact in its organization of those who remained. Thus it appointed trustees, ordaining four, Eschenbach, Rauch, Bunner and Pyrlaus. There was also a Quaker lady present at this conference who made an address. But the most important event was the baptism of three Indians—the first Indian baptisms in Pennsylvania. (Brainard's work among the Indians in Pennsylvania came later, and his converts were in New Jersey.)

Christian Henry Rauch was one of the most beautiful characters of the Reformed who entered this union movement. He came over to do missionary work among the Indians. When he arrived at New York, July 16, 1740, he accidentally met a missionary from St. Thomas and was introduced by him to friends, from whom he expected help for the heathen among whom he was to work. But, on the contrary, they tried to dissuade him, saying the Indians were a bad set, among whom no European could live in safety. He found that the Indians, who happened just then to come to New York on an embassy, were given to intoxication, yet he found them tractable. And receiving an invitation to visit them in their town, he went to Shekomeko, on the borders of Connecticut, east of the Hudson. There he preached to them in Dutch, which they understood. He had many difficulties in his work. The Indians were dull to the gospel. The white settlers around plotted against him. But he continued, and by 1742 he brought with him by way of New York to Oley, three of the Mohican Indians for baptism. The scene must have been impressive. The three Indians were placed in their midst, and with fervent prayer and supplication devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ as his eternal property. And then Rauch baptized them after the Moravian custom "into the wounds of Jesus" with the names Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Then Zinzendorf and the rest laid their hands upon them while a hymn was sung. The scene took place

in the barn of Mr. De Turck. These three were the first fruits of the work of the Moravians among the Indians. (Before the end of the year twenty-one more were added to the Church.) This conference closed with a love feast.

The Fourth Conference at Germantown, March 10—12.

This conference should have been held at Ephrata, according to a previous arrangement made at the second conference with the Seventh-day Dunkards, but as they had withdrawn from the movement, it was held at Germantown, at the house of Mr. Ashmead. There was, as usual, a good deal of discussion at this conference, but nothing of vital importance done, except that it was decided to have preaching in Philadelphia Sunday mornings and at Germantown Sunday afternoons. The acts were signed by twelve persons.

The Fifth Conference at Germantown, April 6 and Following Days.

This was opened at the Reformed church and was the most important conference yet held. It still further consolidated the movement by the adoption and publication for the Reformed of a catechism known as Bechtel's catechism. Bechtel read the catechism to them. It was either written by Zinzendorf or at least inspired by him, or perhaps written by both together, but it generally goes by the name of Bechtel's catechism. Its title is: "A Short Catechism for some Congregations of Jesus of the

Reformed religion in Pennsylvania, who hold to the ancient Synod of Berne : Agreeable to the Doctrines of the Moravian Church. First published in German by John Bechtel, Minister of the Word of God : Philadelphia, 1742." It says it was based on the articles of the Berne synod of 1732, but the authors of those Berne articles would hardly recognize them in the catechism. Their articles were dogmatic, this was practical, emotional, sometimes even wandering in its thought. It lacks depth of thought, for it was composed in only four weeks, but it has some unction of spirit. It reflects the high state of experimental piety demanded by the Moravians. It consists of 243 questions, and its answers are in many cases Bible quotations. It was first published in German and English.

A very interesting translation of Bechtel's catechism is the Swedish. It seems that the Moravians under Zinzendorf had begun a mission among the Swedes, and two Moravian young men, graduates of the University of Upsala, were ordained to this work. One of their converts was Olaf Melander, who came from Sweden in 1737 with Dylander as parochial school-teacher. In 1743, while employed in the printing office of Franklin, he became so much interested in this catechism of Bechtel that he translated it into Swedish. It is, therefore, interesting as one of the few Reformed books in the Swedish language, whose religious literature is almost entirely Lutheran, because the people are all Lutherans. The publication of the cate-

chism was offered to Saur, but he refused, because he was piqued at some of the members of the conferences. So they gave it to Franklin to print, who printed the German in English letters, as he had no German type. It is, therefore, to-day, like all the Franklin imprints, very valuable. "Bechtel's catechism belongs to the early and glorious era of Pennsylvania bibliography, of which it is a rare and highly prized ornament."

Bechtel claimed that he could not teach the Heidelberg catechism, because he did not believe the 80th and 114th answers, especially the latter, for he claimed that true converts could be perfect. His catechism was introduced into all the congregations that joined the Congregation of God in the Spirit. At this conference Saur's attack on the Moravians was severely criticised and caused a still greater breach.

On Easter, April 18, Bechtel was ordained by Nitschman. He was made not merely pastor of the Reformed congregation at Germantown, but also inspector over all the German Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. This of course was a reflection on Bœhm, who, although nothing but an ordinary minister, was the leader among the German Reformed. Zinzendorf wrote to Bœhm, saying he hoped that he would not be angry because he had placed Bechtel over the Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania, and suggested to Bœhm that he should become subservient to Bechtel's authority. Of

course this angered Bœhm, because he did not believe that the Reformed Church had any such office as inspector, and besides he was not favorable to the pietism of Bechtel and Zinzendorf, and refused to have either of them act as if they were his master. These things, says Fresenius, caused much dissatisfaction and opposition, and injured the movement still more, for the Germans do not respect mere titles much, especially in the Church. A very interesting feature of the fifth conference was the appearance of a Moravian missionary, named Israel, from St. Croix, West Indies, who related a wonderful preservation from shipwreck near Tortola, in December, 1739.

The Sixth Conference at Germantown, May 5—7.

There does not seem to have been anything very important transacted at this conference, although there was the usual amount of discussion. It, however, aimed to organize the Lutheran party in the union, as it had done the Reformed, by the composition of a Lutheran catechism and church-order. Henry Antes was appointed assistant to Eschenbach as preacher in Oley. On Whitsunday Bechtel requested all the Reformed to gather in the Reformed church, when he brought before them the organization and building up of the Reformed congregation, to which end any one who wanted to be a member and would hold to the Berne synod (which to most of them was an unknown thing), could then subscribe their names. He said that he would be their pastor and administer the sac-

raments, and use for catechization either the Heidelberg, Basle or Berne catechism, or whatever they wanted. Boehm said that seventeen or eighteen voted in favor of this, and subscribed their names.

The Seventh Conference at Philadelphia, June 2 and 3.

It was held partly at Evans' house and partly at Zinzendorf's house. Zinzendorf before this had preached his farewell sermon at Germantown, May 30. He was preparing to leave the country. He was finding that the union movement was waning, while the elements that were left were consolidating under the influence of the predominant Moravianism. Now occurred an event that completed the Moravianizing of the movement. A ship load of 120 Moravian emigrants destined for Bethlehem, arrived at Philadelphia just before this conference. They came on the ship "Snow Catharine," and qualified, May 28. This colony at once joined the conference, increasing the number and completing the supremacy of the Moravians in the movement. Antes, too, was now quite carried away, and declared in this conference that the synod acknowledged the Moravians as the true Church, thus committing the Congregation of God in the Spirit to the Moravians. This conference also took action in regard to the Churches in the union. It took the following position about the Reformed :

"The gracious election of the first fruits out of all people and of the disciples of the Lamb, and the secure reward

obtained by suffering for his martyrs in body and soul, is the most precious divine truth. But because all those preachers which come from the classis of Holland are bound in their consciences to teach that God does not wish to save all people, the entire Reformed Church in Pennsylvania is hereby warned in the most solemn manner: We will prove before an assembly of them all, that whoever does not bring this doctrine with him to America and advocate it here, is not acknowledged by them as a true teacher: but that whoever brings this doctrine with him, is absolutely necessitated to contradict the Apostles and Prophets. Inasmuch as we can call our own countrymen to witness that in Germany we did not believe this bold, adventurous doctrine, let each one consider for himself whether he will learn it here; or for the sake of any man's self-interest, whether he will help in deceiving the Amsterdam classis, who imagine that it is here taught as a fundamental doctrine; or whether all those who approve of the twelve articles of the Berne synod, will openly acknowledge their adherence to this basis, and see that the office of the ministry in this country is conducted in agreement with it. Their well known and faithful Bechtel, who has now for fifteen years preached the gospel for them in all simplicity, Henry Antes, Peter Miller and the former bookkeeper of Basle, John Brandmuller, offer to take all sincere Reformed souls under their tenderest care, without designing in so doing in the least to stand in the way of other servants of Christ, who will unite with them to this end. As soon as we know the mind of any on this point, we will appoint a general assembly to compare views in regard to a Christian ecclesiastical organization."*

* Budingen Sammlung. Vol. II, pp. 812-3.

Thus the movement naturally went into Moravianism, because most of the other denominations and sects left one after the other, while the Moravian element continually increased, especially through the arrival of the ship's colony in May, and far outnumbered the rest who remained in the movement. The conferences reveal great earnestness on the part of their members, but they were composed of so many elements, especially at first, that no real unity could be found. According to the Moravian custom the lot was kept lying on the table for consultation. Thus the Moravian consciousness ruled from the beginning ; especially as Count Zinzendorf presided. He found that a body composed of such various elements was quite difficult to control at times, and he sometimes manifested too much warmth and considerable impatience when his opinion or decision was questioned. The truth was, the arrival of the vessel with the Moravian colonists was most opportune, for it probably saved the movement, which as a union had been dwindling, from becoming a failure. It also gave it permanency, as these settled at Bethlehem, which afterwards became the centre of Moravianism.

Zinzendorf did not remain in America long after this. On December 31, 1742, he preached his farewell sermon in Philadelphia, and sailed for Europe on January 9, 1743, from New York.

This first controversy among the Reformed revealed two differences among them. 1. It revealed that there was a difference among them about Pietism. The party who

went off with the Moravians were the extreme Pietists, while the Böhm party were extremely churchly (anti-pietistic). The leaders of the former party among the Reformed went off into Pietism, with the exception of Rieger, who had been inclined that way to some extent. Still with the reaction after the movement, as we shall see, many of the pious, earnest ones who were carried away with the movement, came back to the Reformed Church, producing a strong pietistic element in the Church.

2. It revealed a difference about Calvinism. The Böhm party, like the Church of Holland, were strong predestinarians.* Weiss had also been of that type, for he signed the Canons of Dort. But the Congregation of God in the Spirit, as we have seen, by their action in the seventh conference, opposed very bitterly the doctrine of predestination. It, however, claimed to be Reformed, for it claimed to hold the lower views on predestination, as represented in the Reformed Church of Brandenburg in Germany, of which Jablonsky was the head. This Brandenburg Church had always been low Calvinistic, from the days of its first professors of theology, Pelargus and Bergius, and in the days of Jablonsky it went farther than low Calvinism into the spirit of unionism, which virtually gave up the confessions and sacrificed the denomination for the sake of union. For the movements were beginning in it that ultimately resulted in the organization

* See Harbaugh's *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Vol. I., page 321.

(1817) of the Union Church of Prussia, composed of Reformed and Lutherans. This union movement was reflected in this country by Zinzendorf, or rather he utilized it to gain the Reformed for his Church. For that reason the Congregation of God in the Spirit adopted a catechism based on the Berne articles, which was composed before the doctrine of predestination had become prominent in the Reformed Church, although the Berne Church under Muslin and others became strongly predestinarian.

Thus it was hoped to start a new Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, over against the Church of Bœhm under the classis of Amsterdam, and on the basis of the Berne articles, and governed by tropes instead of synod. It hoped to render the Pennsylvania Reformed independent of the classis of Amsterdam by raising up and ordaining ministers in Pennsylvania, without waiting for ministers sent from Holland. This movement was, therefore, most important, and threatened for a time to be successful. It would have split the Reformed Church, as the Whitefield movement split the Presbyterian into Old and New Lights. Nay, more, if it had been successful, it would have given an entirely different character to the Reformed of Pennsylvania from that which they afterwards had under the supervision of the Holland Churches, as they would have become Melancthonians rather than Calvinistic. But as we shall see, the movement having run its course, the reaction came, back to Calvinism.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XIII.

THE REFORMED OPPONENTS OF THE CONGREGATION OF GOD IN THE SPIRIT.

To prevent the absorption of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania in the Congregation of God in the Spirit, two men rose up to defend and preserve the old faith. They were Böhm and Guldin.

Guldin, of whom we have heard nothing for thirty-two years since his arrival in America, now in his old age again comes into prominence, as he writes against the Moravian attempt at unifying the Germans. His opposition was a great surprise. It was supposed that as he had been a Pietist in Switzerland, of course he would be a Pietist in Pennsylvania, and join heartily in this movement. Indeed, at first he does not take a position antagonistic to it, for he attended the first conference at Germantown, 1742, on the first day. But he seems to have been among those who went away, disheartened by the lack of unity displayed there. That lack of unity is the principal theme on which he harps in his book, entitled "Unpartisan Witness on the New Union of all Denominations in Pennsylvania, and also Some Other Points." It was published by Saur at Germantown, 1743. It con-

sists of five booklets. The first of them was written before February 4, 1742, and the rest before the end of that year, and it was published in 1743 as a whole. The topics of the parts are :

1. The True and False Union. This was intended to answer the minutes of the first and second of the synods of the Congregation of God in the Spirit. He says there must first be a union in Christ before there can be a union with each other. It must be a union from above, rather than a work of man, which theirs evidently was. They emphasized the spirit of separatism too strongly, so that they had not enough in common with each other. The last paragraphs have some direct attacks on Zinzendorf, in which he says that nothing good will come out of these many conferences. It contains fifty-seven paragraphs.

2. The Balm of Gilead which shall heal all Sects. He refers in it to the fact that he was present at the first synod, but says he heard nothing but ill-willed speeches. He was not present the second day because of indisposition. He again emphasizes the fact that this movement was not God's work, but man's, for it did not begin with the right method. Real union does not come from many words, acts or synods. The balm is true repentance and conversion to God, which rises above the narrowness of sects. In the latter part he passes from the figure of the balm to that of the oil of the ten virgins. It contains forty-nine paragraphs.

3. False Prophets. In this he gives the various signs of the false prophets and their fruits. He here makes a personal reference to himself, that although he was evangelistic, yet he did not seek to draw people to himself, so as to make a separate sect, but he turned them away from himself up to God, and preached from one congregation to another without either a call or permission. He thus puts himself on record over against the narrow sects. This part consists of fifty-one paragraphs.

4. Of True Ministers and Servants of Christ. This was a meditation on John 15 : 16, as the first booklet was a meditation on John 10 : 7-10. It consists of twenty-eight paragraphs.

Each of these booklets is followed by an index of the subjects of its paragraphs. This much of the book is devoted to the Moravians in Pennsylvania. His main idea was to show that the Congregation of God in the Spirit was composed of too many diverse elements to form a true union. In it he attacks the sects who were very narrow, especially the Seventh-day Baptists.

But while the first part of the book is an attack on sectism without the Church, the latter part, which is an appendix, is an attack on formalism within the Church. It is devoted not to the Moravians, but to the great revivalist, James Davenport, and is headed : "Sincere Reflections on the conduct of James Davenport, minister in Long Island, and on the witness of fifteen ministers of

Boston in New England against it, as it appeared in the German Newspaper of Germantown, number XXVI." James Davenport was the great revivalist of his day. In his early labors he had thrown jewelry, wigs, etc., into the fire, because by them, he said, people were led into idolatry of ungodly things. Guldin defends Davenport against the attacks of his opponents, especially unconverted ministers. Davenport had gone through the streets and alleys on Sundays and other days with his friends singing, calling on his brethren to pray, and delivering exhortations to men in smaller or larger gatherings. Guldin says these movements of Davenport, which have wakened up a new spirit, must not be opposed, but must be carefully guarded that they do not run into excesses.

These booklets of this book, "Unpartisan Witness," perhaps do not reveal quite the force of his earlier work of 1718 on the Pietists of Berne, but they reveal a ripeness of thought and judiciousness of judgment that must have been very helpful when men were apt to be swayed to one extreme or the other. In it all he shows himself a Pietist, but a churchly Pietist. He had no sympathy with the sects in their narrowness, nor had he any sympathy with the formalism of the Church. In it he shows himself favorable to church union, but it must be a true union, by which the hearts were brought together; and not an outward union, which allowed so much bitterness and quarreling. His book doubtless exerted a wide influ-

ence, and kept many Pietists from being carried away into the Moravian movement. Its prophecy of this movement proved too true ; it soon fell to pieces.

This protest of Guldin revealed that there could be within the Reformed Church a true Pietism, which, while it emphasized experimental religion, yet had no sympathy with the sects. It did not call the Church a Babel, as they did, but it honored the Church. It was not fanatical, but conservative in its methods, and yet aggressive in its ends. Such an element was in the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania from its beginning, and, as we shall see, it seems to have gained the upper hand afterwards under Otterbein, Hendel and Helffenstein. Quiet revivalism in connection with catechization is quite in harmony with the Reformed Church, and has been in her ever since the days of Zwingli, Lasco, Lampe and others. Guldin died soon after the publication of his book, on December 31, 1745.

But the strongest defender of the Reformed was Bœhm. While his works do not reveal the suggestiveness on religious thought that Guldin's does, yet he ably attacks the Moravians from the practical standpoint. His works, too, have the greater influence, because he does not write as an individual, as Guldin did, but as a pastor whose churches are behind him to back him up. Bœhm, even before writing his first book, had shown his opposition to the Moravian movement. Even before the coming of Count Zinzendorf, Bœhm had been warned against the Moravians

by the classis of Amsterdam who sent him Kulenkamp's book.*

When, therefore, Zinzendorf arrived in Pennsylvania in the latter part of 1741, he soon came into collision with Bœhm. The Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia worshiped in the same building with the Reformed. On Christmas, 1741, (Friday), the Reformed had their services as usual and the following Sunday was their Sunday for service in the church. So Bœhm stayed over from Friday to Sunday, instead of going home to Witten. The Lutheran church had been without a pastor since 1733, and a prominent member of that congregation fixed on Saturday night as the time for the Christmas service of the Lutherans. Bœhm was asked by him to be present. He went to the church with some of his elders and members, but when they approached the church they saw a great crowd of people gathered before the church. They asked the cause of this, and were informed that it was because it was rumored that Count

* The title of this book is, "The naked, exposed Enthusiasm, Fanaticism and Corrupt Mysticism of the so-called Moravians, exhibited most clearly from their German hymn-books and others of their writings, and their agreement with the Corrupt Mystics and Fanatics in Germany, and the Tremblers in England, most plainly indicated, tending to repeated faithful warning against those people, and to the complete defense of the Pastoral and Paternal Letter of the Rev. Amsterdam Consistory against the false accusations of certain anonymous writing added back of this. Published at the earnest request and by order of the Rev. Consistory, and from love of the truth which is unto salvation, by Gerardus Kulenkamp, preacher at Amsterdam, at Amsterdam, 1739.

Zinzendorf was going to preach, as he had been invited to do so by some of the Lutheran members, although many of them were much opposed to his doing so. Böhm remained silent at this until some of the Lutherans asked him what he had to say to it. He answered: "I think I have more information about these things than many of you and therefore I protest against any one saying that it is consented to by the Reformed, or by me, that Count Zinzendorf can preach. We Reformed have nothing to command about your side. If you do anything against yourselves, we do not want any part in what may result from it." However the Count did not make his appearance, but preached that evening and the following day (Sunday) in his own house.

This was the beginning of their differences. Zinzendorf sent a letter by special messenger, Michael Haan, to Böhm, at his home, in Witpen, saying that the Lutheran congregation had asked him to preach; and that as he was a Lutheran and had preached in many of the Lutheran churches in Germany, he felt like agreeing to do so. But he did not believe in the doctrine of reprobation, as Böhm, as a Calvinist, did. He, therefore, asked him whether he had a right to say anything against his preaching in the union church, as he did not wish to enter the pulpit against his authority. Böhm wrote back that day that as to his right to do anything against Zinzendorf's preaching in the union church he could not answer so

quickly ; but he would say that he adhered to the words he spoke on December 26 previous to the Lutherans in Philadelphia. His position amounted to this, that the Lutherans could do as they pleased ; that was their affair, but he did not wish to be responsible for the consequences.

On Sunday, January 10, Zinzendorf preached for the Lutherans in the church. Zinzendorf was elected pastor of the Lutheran congregation before Easter, and on Easter wanted to hold the communion there, but as that was the Sunday that the church belonged to the Reformed, Boehm curtly refused to give it to him, when Pyrlaeus, Zinzendorf's assistant, asked him for it. On the second Sunday after Easter Zinzendorf accepted the pastorate. As Zinzendorf was away much of his time, the pastorate fell into the hands of his assistant, Pyrlaeus.

Finally, after the seventh synod of the Congregation of God in the Spirit, in June, 1742, there occurred an open outbreak between the adherents of Zinzendorf and those opposed to him. On July 18 the people came to the church for service and found it locked. As the key could not be found, the Lutheran adherents of Zinzendorf forced their way in by breaking the lock. It was Pyrlaeus' duty to preach, as the Count was away on a tour among the Indians. He entered the pulpit and began the service. Some young men, says the Lutheran elder, went up to him and urged him to leave the church with his people. Pyr-

laeus replied: "You are no Lutheran," at which four young men pulled Pyrlaeus out of the pulpit and dragged him out of the church, because he had entered the house without the consent of the rightful proprietors and by violence.

These events reveal the state of feeling between Böhm and Zinzendorf. This again appeared on August 23, 1742, when Böhm published his first attack on the Moravians, called "True Letter of Warning, addressed to the Reformed Congregations of Pennsylvania." It is in the main historical. He begins by describing the circumstances noted above, of December 26, 1741, then gives the letter that passed between Zinzendorf and himself, January 8, 1742. He denies that Zinzendorf is a real Lutheran, and charges him with inconsistency. He ridicules the many names that Zinzendorf used. Then he attacks the printed minutes of the synods of the Congregation of God in the Spirit from the first to the seventh.

In connection with the first synod he thus expresses his surprise, that Henry Antes should throw himself so thoroughly into the new movement. "I can not find words to express my surprise at Henry Antes. Is it possible to think that Henry Antes, who had received far more than the others, would give himself to such soul-destroying doctrines?" He then refers very tenderly to his previous relations with Henry Antes. "God knows what took place in the past," he says, "between Antes and

myself, as both our hearts were then bound together in a hearty love to the divine truth in our Reformed doctrines. And he has not forgotten, I am sure, how he was one of those who by his tears brought me to it that I put the yoke (of the ministry) on my neck. Which love I cannot for my part forget, no, I shall never forget, even though I have through him been very much grieved, to pray for him when I think of him in my groanings, that God might bring him with all his errors by his Spirit to the light again."

In regard to the second synod he attacks the use of the lot, and quotes frequently from Kulenkamp's book. In the third conference he criticises their baptism of the Indians as having been performed in an irregular manner. In the fourth he severely criticises Bechtel's catechism—that there is nothing said in it about baptism or the Lord's Supper, not a word about the Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer. This attack on the Moravians was signed in February and March, 1742, by six of Bœhm's consistories, namely, Falkner Swamp, Skippack, White Marsh, Philadelphia, Oley and Tulpehocken. (Only Conestoga is omitted of his congregations) Then follows a postscript containing further criticisms on the minutes of the six synods.

This severe arraignment of Bœhm's was answered by Neisser, a Moravian school-master at Bethlehem. But any one who reads it will see, as Fresenius suggests, that

it is not Neisser who writes it, but Zinzendorf. For a plain school-master like Neisser would not know the facts about the Moravians in Europe, as they are given in this book. Zinzendorf inspired it, as he did Bechtel's catechism. This book severely attacks Bœhm as he had attacked the Moravians. It claims that Bœhm was not Reformed, but belonged to a sect of Holland, called Gomarists, who were high Calvinists. The author shrewdly tries to put Bœhm in a dilemma thus : that Bœhm, if he accepts the doctrine of reprobation, is not a German Reformed, because they do not accept it ; yet if he does not hold to reprobation he is a deceiver, because he deceives the Holland classis that supports him and which is high Calvinistic. This dilemma was not true. The Reformed of Germany were predestinarian, as is shown by their creeds, universities, conferences with the Lutherans and leading theologians.* Only Brandenburg, which Zinzendorf supposed represented Germany, was inclined to low Calvinism, and in Zinzendorf's time had gone over to Unionism under Jablonsky. Neisser's book shows where Lutherans and Reformed in Europe had approved of Zinzendorf's actions ; that of the Reformed Antistes Werenfels of Basle had done so, and that Zinzendorf had sat in Calvin's seat at Geneva. It replies to Bœhm's strictures on the use of the lot by saying that it was Scriptural.

The next year Bœhm published his second pamphlet,

* See my History of the Reformed Church of Germany, pages 589-623.

namely his "Second Warning," published May 19, 1743. He gives the following reason for publishing it: In the former, he says, he put all the information from Holland about the Moravians. But as many preferred not to pay the small amount for which it was sold, and so remain ignorant, for which reasons some of them were led astray, he published the second, which is smaller. This Warning differs from his first on two points. That was signed by his consistories; this only by himself. This, too, is more personal than the former. In that he attacked mainly the synods, although he also attacked Zinzendorf, but in this he attacks Zinzendorf's followers whom he had left behind, mainly those who were Reformed, namely Lischy, and also Antes and Bechtel. He takes them up one after the other. He attacked Lischy for his insincerity at Tulpehocken, Cacusi, Oley, Schuylkill and Muddy Creek, in pretending to be Reformed, when he was a Moravian. He charges Bechtel with mutilating the Heidelberg Catechism, and repudiating the 80th and 114th questions. As regards Henry Antes: a few weeks since, in reply to the question put by a person: "How can you call yourself Reformed, when you go with the Moravians and take communion with them?" Antes answered: "Why how inquisitive you are? Can I not on this account be Reformed? I am Reformed, I am also Lutheran, I am also a Mennonite, a Christian in everything." In a word Bœhm considers them all enthusiasts and fanatics. He also speaks of Zin-

zendorf's severity against those who opposed him.* Bœhm says that these pamphlets cost him about \$14.52, of which not half came back, because he gave away more than he sold. He was not the last to lose money on books, but all this shows his intense love for his denomination and self-sacrifice for her. It was money well spent, for it broke the force of the Moravian movement and helped to save the Reformed Church.

These three defenses had the effect of steadying the Reformed congregations against the inroads of the Moravians. The result was that ultimately not one congregation was lost to the Reformed, although a number of individuals went into the Moravian Church. Even the Reformed congregation at Germantown, which went into the movement for a little while, came back in 1744, when Bechtel had to resign. Bœhm in all this movement stands out as the defender of the Pennsylvania Reformed, as well as their founder.

* He, however, is in error when he says that Lischy had ordained Bechtel.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XIV.

THE REFORMED MINISTERS IN THE UNION.

Of the Reformed element in the Congregation of God in the Spirit five ministers labored especially among the Reformed. They were Bechtel, Antes, Rauch, Brandmüller and Lischy. Permission was given the Reformed to organize a Reformed college, as it was called, within the union, which, however, was under the supervision of the Moravians at Bethlehem. The minutes of the Reformed college of August 12, 1746, at Philadelphia, are, we understand, still in existence.

Bechtel carried his congregation, at Germantown, over with him into the union. On the second day of Easter, 1742, he arranged to administer the communion to the Reformed there, and some received it of him, says Böhm. He announced that on Whitmonday the Reformed of Germantown and neighborhood would organize a congregation in the Reformed church (in the union), and requested those who wished to become members to sign their names, which ten or eighteen did. But there was an element in his congregation that never went into the union. He finally found that he could not keep his congregation in line with the Moravians. He was dismissed

by his congregation, February 9, 1744, just about a year after Zinzendorf left. To show how they repudiated Bechtel's ideas, they talked of calling Bechtel's great enemy, Bœhm, as his successor, but did not do it, because they would not adopt Bœhm's church constitution. They then appealed to Holland for help. Dorsius preached a few times at that time. Bechtel retired, September 13, 1746, to Bethlehem to live with the Moravians. He lived quietly there till he died, April 16, 1777. He was a plain, simple, earnest preacher, though never fulfilling Zinzendorf's hope of being a superintendent of the Reformed in the union.

A very interesting character among the Reformed in the union was Christian Henry Rauch. We have before referred to his work among the Indians in connection with the conference in Oley. After that conference he returned with his Indians to their home along the Hudson, to continue his missionary work. But the envy of the whites became greater. They found they were not able to control the Indians as before, or to sell so much liquor to them. On the other hand the converts frequently detected those of the whites who offended against the law. This the whites did not relish. So they tried to get rid of Rauch, even going so far as to offer liquor to any Indian who would kill him. All kinds of false charges were trumped up against the missionaries, as that they were secretly in league with the French to

furnish the Indians with arms so that they might fight against the English. In December, 1744, the missionaries were brought before the magistrate on this charge, but released because innocent. But finally the restrictions became so great that the missionaries had to give up their work ; and at the beginning of 1745 they were compelled to reluctantly leave their Indian converts. Rauch and his companions were sometimes insulted by mobs on their return to Pennsylvania, because they were missionaries to the Indians.

Rauch now became a preacher for the Congregation of God in the Spirit, going out among the Reformed. He preached to the Reformed more or less regularly in Lebanon county at Swatara, Quitapahilla, Mühlbach, Heidelberg, Tulpehocken, in Lancaster county at Warwick, Leonard Bender's, Muddy Creek and Donegal ; also at Coventry, west of Schuylkill, and at Oley, Goshenhoppen and Skippack, east of that river. On September 9, 1749, he took charge of the Moravian congregation at Lititz, where he was both teacher and preacher, and superintendent of surrounding congregations. On January 1, 1750, he organized the Hebron Moravian congregation near Lebanon. He also acted as superintendent of the Reformed trope in the Congregation of God in the Spirit, and in that capacity he went west of the Susquehanna, preaching to the York and Kreutz Creek congregations before 1750. On December 20, 1753, he

returned to Bethlehem, but seems to have gone south to the Salem congregation in North Carolina, 1755-1756. In 1757 Rauch went as a missionary to Jamaica, where he died, November 11, 1763. He was a very earnest, pious and beautiful character, and has left a lasting record in American missions.

John Brandmuller was another of the Reformed in the union. He was born, November 24, 1704, at Basle, apprenticed to his uncle at the age of fourteen, and confirmed as a member of the Reformed church there when he was thirteen years old.* At Basle there was a Moravian congregation, with which he united, 1739, and he became greatly interested in them, so that he traveled to Herrnhut, Marienborn and Herrnhaag to visit the original Moravian colonies. Leaving his family he came to America with the colony of Moravians who landed in the latter part of May, 1742, at Philadelphia. He returned to Europe after staying here six months. He returned with his wife in 1743 and settled at Bethlehem. He was ordained as deacon by the Congregation of God in the Spirit, May 13, 1745, preached at Allemaengel in Lehigh county, Swatara in Lebanon county and Donegal in Lancaster county, and occasionally as an evangelist to the Walloons in New York state and to the Germans in Virginia. He became teacher at Friedensthal, near Naza-

* There is a John Rudolph Brandmuller, who matriculated at the Basle University, October 8, 1727.

reth (1759), for eight years. He printed the translation of the Harmony of the Gospels in the language of the Delawares, 1761. In 1768 he returned to Bethlehem, where he died, August 16, 1777, by falling accidentally into the mill race.

Henry Antes also became a preacher in the Reformed college. He removed from his farm at Falkner Swamp in 1748 to Bethlehem, and on October 27, 1748, took a civil office in the Moravian Church, taking the legal care of their property and of their temporal affairs, in which office they praise him. But in 1750 he was affronted that the wearing of the white robe or surplice of the minister was introduced. He considered this a Romanizing custom, and afterward returned to his farm in Falkner Swamp. It seems that after Zinzendorf left this country, the more conservative element reappeared in the Church, which more fully represented the older Moravianism of the days before Zinzendorf. So Antes felt himself not in full harmony with them any more. However, he still aided them. When, in August of 1752, Bishop Spangenberg went to North Carolina to select the location for a Moravian colony, Antes went with him. He died at his country home on July 20, 1755, and was buried by Bishop Spangenberg.

But the most interesting person among the Reformed in the union was Jacob Lischy. He is the fifth of this quintette of Reformed ministers in the union, and he was

the most important because of the work he did. He was born at Muhlhausen, in southwestern Germany. There are two Jacob Lischys born there; one on September 20, 1716, the other on May 28, 1719. We do not know which of them is he. He was a linen weaver by trade, Rubel says. Both at Muhlhausen and at Basle he met with the Moravians, and was first awakened to his need of Christ by them. It is said he also visited their sacred places, Herrnhut and Marienborn. He came over with them in the vessel that landed at Philadelphia in the latter part of May, 1742. He took the oath of allegiance on May 28, 1742, having come on the ship "Snow Catharine." He soon became a leading spirit among the Moravians. As far as ability and leadership were concerned he would have made a far better superintendent of the Reformed than Bechtel did. Indeed he virtually did that work, for Bechtel was a comparatively quiet, non-aggressive man, while Lischy was bright, aggressive and self-asserting. What progress was made among the Reformed by the Moravians was made mainly through Lischy's efforts. Lischy, by traveling around the country, gave Bœhm no end of trouble. Indeed his very qualities for leadership ultimately made the Moravians suspicious of him that he was not entirely sincere in his adherence to them. From the very first he heartily threw himself into the movement. He had hardly landed in America when he accompanied Zinzendorf on a journey (July 24-August 2, 1742) to the Del-

aware Indians in the Minnisink mountains. They returned by way of Lehigh Gap through Allemængel in Lehigh county to Tulpehocken. When Zinzendorf was at Tulpehocken the Lutherans protested against the Moravians taking their church, August 11, 1742, in a pamphlet called the Tulpehocken Confusion. (There were also some Reformed in the confusion there protesting against the Moravians.) In December Zinzendorf, while passing through Warwick township, Lancaster county, (now Lititz) was asked by persons there to send them a minister. He sent Lischy to Muddy Creek and Kissel's Farm, where Lischy's preaching produced a great awakening. He was ordained at Philadelphia, January, 1743, by David Nitschman. On March 1, 1743, he published his Declaration of his Intention. Its object was to reveal his theological views, and also his aim in preaching the gospel. It shows his adherence to the articles of the Berne synod, and is also Moravian in its gross idea of Christ's wounds. It is followed by a testimonial signed by too many to have their names published. It closes with a hymn of Lischy's. He at once begins his missionary trips among the Reformed to gain them from Böhm to the Congregation of the Spirit. On Thursday before Easter he organized the Muddy Creek congregation on the basis of Bechtel's catechism and the articles of the Berne synod, and he baptized there, 1743-4. On April 10 he was in the Coventry district of Chester county, west of the Schuylkill, where the Reformed con-

gregation called him, and a constitution was drawn up on May 19, 1743. On August 29 of that year we find him in Heidelberg township, Berks county, at the Cacusi church. There a great meeting was held of the Reformed. It was attended by thirty Reformed elders from twelve congregations. They were Cacusi, Berne, Heidelberg (probably in Lebanon county), Cocalico, Donegal, Upper Swatara, Blue Mountain, Muddy Creek, Vincent and Schuylkill, and White Oaks. Here it was charged that he was a follower of Zinzendorf, and not a Reformed, and also that he had not been properly ordained. In reply he told the story of his life, and showed the certificate of his ordination. The Reformed were thoroughly satisfied with him and unanimously called him as their pastor. Indeed, they were so well satisfied with him that they published a leaflet signed by themselves, in which they declare that they will brand any one who attacked Lischy, as a liar and a fraud, and a disturber of the peace.

At the beginning of 1744 we find him in the Goshenhoppen district, where Bœhm comes into collision with his work. Bœhm came there on Tuesday after Easter, and found that the elders of that congregation had allowed Lischy to preach there on Good Friday and to baptize two children. Bœhm upbraided them for letting a Moravian preach. They replied that they had reported to Lischy that he was suspected of being a Moravian, but he had taken a solemn oath that he was not a Moravian.

Boehm then showed them Lischy's own hymn book, which was Zinzendorf's "Shepherd Songs of Zion," with Lischy's handwriting in it. They then greatly regretted that they had allowed him to preach. In the same year we find him at York, where, by professing himself to be Reformed, he gained an entrance among the Reformed. On August 12, 1744, York sent him a written call through two elders, George Mayer and Philip Rothrock. After he had declined, it then sent him another, dated May 29, 1745. He accepted this, preached his introductory sermon on Ezek. 2: 1-7, and organized the congregation on May 29, 1745. A short time before his second call to York, on March 21, there was a great meeting of the Reformed in the Union at Muddy Creek. There sixty elders and twelve Reformed congregations were again represented. They demanded of Lischy whether he was Reformed or not. At first he tried to evade the question. But he was expostulated with by Rauch, Bechtel and Antes, and he finally declared that he was in connection with the Moravians. He there composed another hymn. He was the first poet among the Reformed ministers.

At this conference a leader of the Reformed congregation asked him what they would do if Lischy should die. Antes gave a brief account of the Reformed college in the Congregation of God in the Spirit, and described to them Spangenberg's power of ordination, so that he could ordain Reformed ministers for them, so that the congregations

might be supplied with pastors. The Moravians made capital of the fact that they could supply the German congregations with ministers, while the Reformed could not do so, as they would have to send over the ocean to Holland for theirs. The Moravian synod of 1745, March 21 and 22, met at Antes' house and had 154 members, of whom three were Reformed ministers. At the synod at Bethlehem, August 18 and 19, 1745, Heidelberg was acknowledged as a free congregation, and supplied with ministers from Bethlehem. The third synod of 1745, at Lancaster, December 8 and 9, had 150 members, of whom seventy-seven were rated as German Reformed. In 1745 Lischy dedicated a German Reformed church at Donegal, which belonged to the congregation of God in the Spirit. In 1746 there was a synod of the Congregation at Kreutz Creek. The York people found out that Lischy had been sent to them by the Congregation of God, and forbade him as well as Rauch to preach in their church. The synod at Kreutz Creek declared itself not Moravian, but Reformed.

We thus see the activity of the Reformed in the Congregation of God in the Spirit. They were active in the synods and active throughout the churches. Lischy especially did a remarkable work in drawing the Reformed into the Church of the Unity. This he could the more easily do, as there were so many congregations and so few Reformed ministers. And as he was a Swiss, and therefore originally Reformed, they open-heartedly welcomed

him to their pulpits. It took some time for the unsuspecting Reformed to find out that he was not a genuine Reformed. By his unceasing efforts he caused no end of trouble to Bœhm. He drew away from Bœhm congregation after congregation. He gathered into his hands all the Reformed congregations west of the Schuylkill, except Tulpehocken, and perhaps even that, if at the conference of 1743 by Heidelberg is meant Tulpehocken. And we find him going from the west of the Schuylkill to the east of it, and getting among the Reformed at Goshenhoppen, to do there in the east what he had done in the west. He capped the climax by trying to draw all away from the Reformed west of the Susquehanna, as at Yorktown. No wonder Bœhm was alarmed. The drift into the Congregation of God in the Spirit threatened to become general and to carry the Reformed congregations into the union. Reichel, in his history of the Moravians, says that Lischy accepted various calls and preached at eighteen different places. Still Bœhm's three original congregations remained true to him, and Philadelphia rejected the Moravians.

But Lischy's success ultimately proved fatal to the movement among the Reformed. His very success and his personal magnetism, together with a tendency toward an independent spirit, made the Moravians suspicious. They suspected that his motives were not entirely unselfish, but that he was doing the work rather for himself than for them. The Moravians felt they had little control of him,

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He had undertaken many things without their consent, and sometimes in spite of their protests. Reichel says that the first tendency to a breach between Lischy and the Moravians began at the Muddy Creek conference, March 21, 1745, where they told the people that they would supply them with ministers from Bethlehem, if they needed them. Lischy became suspicious that they might ultimately refuse to place him and supplant him by such ministers. Then, too, his equivocal position, now Reformed, now Moravian, laid him open to criticism. While this disarmed the Reformed on the one hand, on the other it made the Moravians suspicious of his sincerity. Thus as early as March 12, 1743, he declared himself Reformed, while at the same time protesting his loyalty to the Moravians. Reichel says that even as early as 1745 at the Muddy Creek conference he was not recognized by the Moravians. The differences between them increased until they came to a climax in the spring of 1747. On January 10, 1747, as he could not be with them at their synod, he wrote a very humble letter to them, asking them to remember him in their prayers, as he felt his weakness and sin. He returned to Bethlehem in April, bringing his wife and two children. Matters came to a climax at their synod at Germantown, May 10-14. The charges against him there were insubordination. He had stayed at York without consulting the Brethren, and afterwards against their advice, so that he was expelled from the congregation. He had undertaken many

things against the intentions of the Moravians and without their knowledge. Thus without their knowledge and against their advice he had built school-houses and founded institutions beyond the Susquehanna. On baptism and the Lord's Supper he had doctrines of his own, at variance with theirs. They charge that he dissuaded people who wished to go to Bethlehem from doing so, and drew them over to his side ; that he depreciated their institutions and extolled his own. They, therefore, forwarded to him three papers through Rauch, asking that he should sign one of them, and then they would know where he stood in relation to them. The first contained a declaration that he wanted to be a brother and member of the community at Bethlehem, and that in the future he would be guided by their plans. The second contained a declaration that though he was not properly a member of the community at Bethlehem, yet he was a friend of it ; that he was an ordained Reformed minister, ordained by the brethren of the community and was working under their consistory, and that without the approval of the consistory he would not engage in any new enterprises. By the third paper he declared that he had no connection with them, and that what he did, he did on his own responsibility, and in consequence he was to return his certificate of ordination received from them. When these papers were presented to him, he could not make up his mind to sign either of them, and he asked to be given more time. His request was granted by them.

On May 25 a conference was held with Lischy by Bishop Cammerhof and the Moravians. Lischy confessed his sins. But even in the conference he showed his independent inclinations, for he said that he was willing that Rauch should go into his territory at York and preach. They replied that the territory of the Reformed church at York, where he had been preaching, was not his territory, but theirs, and they would send whom they pleased into it. Lischy then replied that it seemed to him inconsistent to be a Reformed minister and at the same time a member of the community at Bethlehem. They replied that Rauch and others did not consider it so. He denied that he had tried to prejudice the people against the institutions at Bethlehem, but, on the contrary, he had always spoken in defence of the community. Lischy remained at Bethlehem several weeks, praying, as he said, for light.

• We next hear of him as on a visit to Muhlenberg in the spring of 1747. To him he told the story of his life, and how he had gotten in among the Moravians and labored for them. He told him how they had proposed to him the choice of one of three declarations, either as a brother, a friend or an enemy. But as he had been there at Bethlehem, his eyes had become opened. He had heard Bishop Cammerhof use what he considered blasphemous expressions in the pulpit, and in private conversation he had experienced offensive things. So he determined to leave them. Spangenberg tried to retain him, but he refused.

There was another thing that Lischy was finding out, namely, that the Reformed congregations were gradually turning against the Congregation of God in the Spirit, and turning back to their old Reformed faith. While he had caused such a furore among them as to gain two conferences of no less than twelve congregations in 1743 and 1745, yet he failed to hold them. He had lost his hold on York, as they turned against him. He afterward tried to rebuild his fortunes at Lancaster and Lititz, but failed. So, cast out by the Moravians and also by the Reformed congregations, he determined to return to the old Reformed faith. We next find him with Schlatter, when the latter (June 24-26) was on a visit to the northeastern district around the Lehigh. He says Lischy, although he had never seen him before, resolved to go with him to Nazareth. "When we got into conversations," says Schlatter, "he very magnanimously manifested a hearty repentance and sorrow that he had suffered himself to be bewitched by the crafty brethren (Moravians)." This open-hearted acknowledgment led to an extended and earnest conversation, in which Schlatter became fully persuaded of his honesty and sincere desire to leave the Moravians and come back into the Reformed Church. Schlatter agreed to write to the Holland Fathers about him, and advised him to transfer to writing what he would do and submit it to him. This prepared the way for his case to come before the coetus soon to meet in 1747. When he returned

to the Reformed faith, he fully declared his change of intention in his Second Declaration published in 1748, followed by another publication in 1749, called "The Voice of the Watchman," in both of which he warns his friends to beware of the Moravians, whom he says he had learned to know only too well.*

* Lischy also afterwards sends to the deputies in December, 1752, a written German sermon on Jer. 15 : 19.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XV.

THE INDEPENDENTS.

While Bœhm and others were trying to build up the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania under the care of the Church of the Netherlands, there were Independents, sometimes ordained ministers, sometimes not, who endeavored to keep the churches free from thorough ecclesiastical organization and foreign control. They were the adventurers (land-loopers—Landläufer). It will be well to take them up now, so that we may see what further dangers the early Church was subject to. Many of her churches and members were not only in danger of being captured by the Moravians and the sects outside of the Church, but also of being led astray by irresponsible men in the Church. There is, however, this to be said of some of the Independents, that they seem to have been really pious men and did a good work in their own way. But many of them were selfish men, “bread-and-butter preachers,” as they are called in Germany, who sought only the money they might make out of their ministry, caring little for the spiritual welfare of the souls under them ; while some of them, still worse, were dissipated, sometimes drunkards or immoral men, and soon revealed their true character,

bringing disgrace on themselves and on the Church by it. We have already referred to one of these Independents, Goetschi. We will now take up others of this period.

CASPER LEWIS SCHNORR.

We know almost nothing about him before he came to America, and would be glad to know less about him here.* He appeared before the deputies on March 10, 1744, stating that he had been called from Zweibrücken as pastor of the Tulpehocken congregation in Pennsylvania, and asked aid from them. It seems that the Tulpehocken congregation had written to the consistory of Zweibrücken, asking them to get for them a pastor, and now they send Schnorr. The deputies, however, decided that as he was sent under the care of the Zweibrücken consistory, he did not come under their supervision, as he had no testimonials of his character, and, besides, certain rumors against him were current; and especially because they already found that little reliance could be placed on his words, they gave him nothing, and declared that they did not wish to be responsible for him. But if after his arrival in Pennsylvania he showed fidelity by his conduct, they would not withhold their aid from him.

He also came in contact with the classis of Amsterdam. After he was gone to America, they found out his

* There is a Casper Lewis Schnorr who matriculated at Marburg University on July 12, 1735, and gave his birthplace Ludinghusan's monastery, near Munster in Westphalia. He may have been originally Catholic.

true character and wrote to him on July 22, 1744, saying that after his departure severe charges appeared against him in the places he had left. They say he had not told the truth about himself to them when they examined him, and they admonished him to repent, lest God would punish him. They urge him to begin a new life in the new world, and thus redeem himself from the stains of his past life. They intend to keep themselves fully informed about his deportment, and urge him to keep up correspondence. He replied to them on March 15, 1745, and also on November 10, 1745, stating that his voyage had been long and expensive, and that his wife and child, who had come by another vessel, had died at sea. Instead of going to Tulpehocken as pastor, he had found a congregation at Lancaster (which Rieger had left when he went back to Holland), and had accepted it. But he supplied Tulpehocken once a month. He also reports that he tried to organize the Reformed ministers into a coetus, but in vain.

He soon came into controversy with Rieger, after the latter came back from Holland. He openly charged Rieger before his congregation with having brought money from Holland for the German churches in Pennsylvania, which he had never turned over to them. Rieger appealed to Holland, and the Holland classis declared that Rieger was innocent. But alas for Schnorr, his sins soon found him out. A man may change his country, but not his

nature. That he brings with him. As early as October 16, 1745, Saur, who was always lynx-eyed to find out anything he might lay at the door of the Churches, refers to Schnorr's wickedness. His drunkenness found him out, and his congregation tried to get rid of him, although they had agreed to keep him for a certain length of time, and for a while they had to bear with him, as he was their pastor legally. This agreement of the Lancaster congregation with Schnorr afterward had an important influence on the treatment of Schlatter by the Philadelphia congregation. The deputies in Holland had placed hopes on him that he would prepare the way for the organization of a coetus in Pennsylvania, but he proved a broken reed to lean upon. His conduct became insufferable, and he was compelled to leave Lancaster. When the first coetus is organized, he is not present. He had taken his departure for New York state to Esopus to minister to the congregations where Weiss had labored. Schlatter says in his unpublished diary: "Dominie Snorr, on account of bad conduct, has been driven from Lancaster, and has now been accepted on trial for a year by a church in Esopus in the York government in the New Netherland." We hear no more about him. He had fallen from grace.

JOHN WILLIAM STRAUB.

There is a John William Straub who landed at Philadelphia and qualified on September 21, 1732. He was at that time forty-four years of age.

He had been a linen weaver, and became a school-master, who afterwards undertook the functions of a minister, though unordained. He had originally been a school-master at Cronau in the Palatinate. Bœhm mentions him as preaching at Skippack in 1739 and 1741. He built the Salisbury church in 1741, and was pastor there as late as 1743, when the title to the ground was given. Bœhm charges him with being immoral and a drunkard. But Schlatter in his unpublished diary says, October 20, 1746, that he met Straub at Indian Creek, and that he preached there every three weeks. Straub promised Schlatter not to perform ministerial acts any more, but only to preach and read sermons until they had a minister there. He thus hoped to get aid from Holland for himself as a parochial school-teacher, for which Schlatter says he was well fitted.

JOHN CONRAD WIRTZ (WUERTZ).

He was the companion of Goetschi on his journey to America, and was the son of John Conrad Wirtz, a minister at Kloten, Neukirchen and Zurich, but afterwards deposed.* He was born on November 30, 1706, and qualified at Philadelphia on May 29, 1735. It seems that as Goetschi became minister at Goshenhoppen, Wirtz, his brother-in-law, became the school-master at Old Goshenhoppen, but afterwards we find him in Conestoga as teacher,

* Wirtz was not the son of the antistes of Zurich, nor did he belong to the Engle-Wirtz family.

though he did not stay long. He seems then to have begun preaching, though not ordained. He followed Goetschi in the congregation at Egypt (1742-1744), and Lower Saucon. At Egypt his first baptism was performed on September 17, 1742, his last on December 13, 1743. When Schlatter came to America, Wirtz went to him on October 14, 1746. Schlatter writes in his unpublished diary :

“ He was very humble, confessed his fault in having presumed to become a minister without ordination. But he did it from necessity and poverty, and at the instigation of the farmers. But now having heard of me and my commission, he was perfectly prepared to submit himself to my injunction, and from this instant no more to administer the sacraments, if in some other way I could or would help him to some mean and poor support. Finally he asked me with calmness if there was no possibility for him to be ordained to the ministry, whereupon I answered that next summer I would investigate his affairs carefully, and then if practical lay them before the Most High Reverends, and wait for their instructions. With this he was content.”

Schlatter preached at Saucon on June 29, 1747, and asked the congregation whether they wanted Wirtz as as preacher, but the vote for him was not unanimous, as many wanted a regularly ordained minister. Schlatter found the same condition of affairs at Springfield. Wirtz after this meeting with Schlatter continued preaching at Saucon and Springfield. Böhm says he appeared before the coetus of 1748, but was refused a recommendation for ordination to Holland. Böhm says the vote was unani-

mous against him, even Schlatter, who had espoused his cause, being silent when the vote was taken. He afterwards went to the congregations in western New Jersey at Rockaway and Valley. While pastor there he was ordained by the Presbyterians while Schlatter was in Europe, at the suggestion, it is said, of Weiss and Leydich. He first applied with his German congregation at Rockaway to the Presbyterian synod of New York, on September 27, 1750. They referred him, on September 26, 1751, to the presbytery of New Brunswick, who reported on September 28, 1752, that they had ordained him. He thus became a member of that presbytery.

He came back to the German Reformed Church in 1761. On August 3 he received an invitation from Balthaser Spangler to preach at York. He was called there on September 12, 1761, as Lischy's successor. He was dismissed by the Presbyterians on October 24, 1761, and arrived at York on May 5, and on the following Sunday, May 9, he preached his introductory sermon on Rev. 10 : 10. He entered on his work there with great energy, baptizing in a short time 84 children. The congregation also started to build a new church, which was only partially finished when he died on September 21, 1763. When he laid the corner-stone he preached on Ezra 3 : 10-11. His last baptism was performed on August 14, 1763. He seems to have been a faithful workman and left a pious memory behind him.

JOHN JACOB HOCK.

John Jacob Hock was the first minister at Lancaster, and was there sixteen months.* He dedicated their first church building on June 20, 1736, taking Isaiah 35 : 1 as the introduction to his text, Psalm 103 : 4. His ministry ended there on October 30, 1737, after which he seems to have been succeeded by Rieger, and then by Schnorr.

JOHN JOACHIM ZUBLY OR ZUBLIN.

The most brilliant of the independent ministers, indeed perhaps of all our early ministers, was John Joachim Zubly. He was born at St. Gall, August 27, 1724,† the place where Schlatter was also born. His father was David Zubli, a weaver. The father came to America in the Swiss emigration that began 1730–1736. He left St. Gall, September 15, 1736. By February, 1737, the colony headed by Rev. Mr. Zuberbuhler had arrived in Georgia. He settled in Purysburg, South Carolina. The son, however, did not come along with him, as has hitherto been supposed, but was left by his father in St. Gall, so as to receive his education there. A very interesting letter of his father has been found, dated February 26, 1743, and addressed from America to the authorities of St. Gall. In it he asks them to grant his son a special dispensation to be examined for the ministry, although younger than the

* There is a John Jacob Hock, who matriculated at Marburg, September 22, 1712, as of Rotenberg, Hesse.

† Not August 24, as heretofore given.

law required, as the German Reformed church of Savannah was very desirous of obtaining a pastor. He also asks for a contribution for the expense of his son's journey to England. It deeply grieved him, he says, to make this latter request, but told how on his departure from St. Gall for America he had left sufficient means to pay for the living expenses of his son for ten years, and also for his journey to America. But his father's misfortune had caused the loss of the money. This, he says, was well known to the treasurer, Scherer, who had been asked to intercede for him now with the authorities. He says he would not ask this favor, if he were able to send over money, but he had five children to care for in Carolina, and up to that time he had earned but little. He asks the government to cast some bread upon the waters, so that another Reformed church might be planted in America among the heathen (Indians). It is a most beautiful letter, eloquently pathetic, and stating that if the request be granted, he will exclaim with David (a play on his own first name): "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God." The son studied at Tübingen and Halle, as well as at St. Gall. Although he had been educated at St. Gall, he was examined and ordained at Chur, because he had not yet reached the age required by St. Gall. Before he left St. Gall, he asked the pastors of St. Gall to allow him to preach at St. Gall, but they refused to do so. The city

council, however, by a resolution permitted him to do so. He left St. Gall, November 21, 1743. On his way to America he spent the month of August, 1744, in London.* In 1744 he became pastor at Puryburg. In 1746 he visited George Whitefield at his orphanage, Bethesda, near Charleston. He became Whitefield's spiritual son, as the latter calls him, and later raised large sums of money for this orphanage during his trip to the north. The Halle reports say Zubly came to Frederica on St. Simm's Island, south of Savannah, 1747, and organized a Reformed congregation in Amelia township. He was married to Anna Tobler on November 10, 1746. In 1749 he was pastor of the German Reformed congregation at Charleston, and while there the proposed call from Lancaster may have been sent him, although we do not have evidence of it. Mittelburger, in his book "Travels Through Pennsylvania," 1750-54, speaks of him as one of the six Reformed ministers laboring in Pennsylvania, but this seems to have been an error.

While pastor in South Carolina, he made a tour north to Pennsylvania, where he arrived in April, 1753, and thus came into contact with the churches of the coetus. He was warmly welcomed everywhere by both the friends and enemies of Whitefield. Ministers of all denominations, English as well as German, threw open their pul-

* His autograph book is in the possession of Rev. Prof. J. H. Dubbs, D. D., of Lancaster, and is full of the autographs of prominent men.

pits to him. During this tour he met many prominent persons (as his autograph book shows), as Aaron Burr, president of Princeton College, Alexander Cumming, of the Old South church, Boston, Gilbert Tennent, Muhlenberg and others. He was a mighty preacher, preaching repentance, conversion and adoption into God's family. He preached daily, and sometimes two and three times a day in Philadelphia. Here it seems he held services together with James Davenport, the eccentric revivalist, for on May 16 the Sabbath morning is noted in his album as the time for special prayer for them. This is signed by Davenport and Zubli. From Philadelphia he went to New York, where he preached with great acceptance in English, French and German. The German congregation there wanted to build a church for him and call him as their pastor, but he would not hear of it. He soon returned to Philadelphia, where he again held daily services.

He then started for a tour through Pennsylvania, thus coming into direct contact with the many congregations of the coetus. He preached at Steiner's church in Germantown to a great throng on Whitsunday. Steiner, says Saur, could not control his envy at seeing some persons at church who had not been there for many years, so the next Sunday he attacked Zubli from the pulpit.* The plan of his

* He was not the last in our Church to act thus, nor was he the last to suffer by such indiscretion as Steiner did then.

journey through Pennsylvania was this: He was to leave Philadelphia on June 22, 1753, and preach the next day (Sunday) at Skippack, where the people from far and near came to hear him. On Monday he was to preach at Hanover and Falkner Swamp, on Tuesday at Reading, and then he was to go to Tulpehocken, Lancaster and Yorktown. If he were able to carry out his plans, he would have made, says Saur, a journey of a thousand miles before he reached his southern home. His tour through Pennsylvania occurred just at the time when the coetus was dividing between the Schlatter and the Weiss parties. Saur, the German printer of Germantown, who was always an enemy of the Churches in the interest of the sects, afterwards wanted Zubly to be made superintendent of the Pennsylvania Charity Schools, instead of Schlatter, but it did not take place. In 1753 he became pastor of the English congregation at Wandoo, opposite Charleston.

He was called to the pastorate in Savannah, April, 1758, and assumed full charge there in 1760, continuing as its pastor till 1778. There he would preach French on Sunday morning and English in the evening. In 1775 the college of New Jersey gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In one of his letters he says he was asked by Schlatter to be a member of the coetus, but this he never did. Muhlenberg met him at Savannah in 1774. His later career will be given in connection with the Revolution. He was the boy preacher of his day, beginning to preach

when he was only twenty years old. He was wonderfully eloquent, the German Whitefield. He was also a fine linguist, preaching with facility in three languages, English and French, as well as his native German. He was also a voluminous author, writing more books and pamphlets than any other author of the Reformed Church of his day in America.* He died on August 26, 1781.

In connection with Zubli we might refer to several other Reformed ministers in the south who deserve mention, although they never belonged to the coetus.

* We give a list of his books :

Funeral sermon on Rev. J. C. Gramm, pastor of the Lutheran emigrants from Salzburg to Georgia, 1746 (German).

"But They Are Not Converted," a sermon (German), 1749.

"Evangelical Testimony Concerning the Misery and Redemption of Men," in two sermons preached by him to the English congregation at Charleston, 1751.

In 1756 he began publishing some of his works in English, and published "The Real Christian's Hope in Death," or an account of the edifying behavior of several persons of piety in their last moments. 12 mo., 187 pp., 1756.

"The True and the False Conversion, and the Difference Between Them" (German), London, 1765.

1766, sermon on repeal of the stamp act.

1770, funeral sermon on the death of George Whitefield.

1775, "The Law of Liberty," a sermon on American affairs, preached at the opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, with an appendix, giving a concise account of the struggles of Switzerland to recover her liberty. 8 vo., 21 pp.

Exercitatio Theologica de Nuptis Virginis super adultae ad illustrationem locorum, 1 Cor. 7: 36. Carlopoli (Charleston), 1775. German, 1776. This is probably the dissertation by which he gained his degree of Doctor of Divinity.

1775, "Great Britain's Right to Tax her Colonies."

1775, "Pious Advice," sermon on the faith.

1775, letter to Mr. Frinck, "Thoughts on the Day of Judgment."

1792, "Evangelical Witness," fourth edition.

ZUBERBUHLER.*

He was a Swiss of the canton of Appenzell. (There was a minister named Bartholomew Zuberbuhler, who matriculated at Marburg University on June 2, 1714.) He came over in 1736. In October, 1736, he was at Rotterdam. In his colony were the elder Zubli and John Tobler, later the father-in-law of J. J. Zubli. He arrived at Charleston in February, 1737. A letter of February 20, 1737, says that during the voyage of seven weeks Zuberbuhler, pastor at Trogen, preached six sermons on the ocean. He had a son in Charleston, who was a protege of prominent men there. The letter states that young Sebastian Zuberbuhler was to arrive three or four weeks after. But he expected to return to Switzerland to bring a colony of fifty or sixty families from Switzerland to Carolina. There is another mention of Zuberbuhler preaching at Ebenezer, Ga., in May, Purysburg and Ebenezer on May 22, 1738. On November 11, 1745, the Episcopal trustees at Savannah sent a memorial from Georgia to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, asking them that, as their last minister had left them and gone back to England, a Bartholomew Zuberbuhler, lately admitted to orders, be appointed to their church. He thus had become an Episcopalian, and afterward regularly corresponded with the society. He died suddenly in the middle of December, 1766.

* Not Toberbihler, as Harbaugh has it.

CHRISTIAN THEUS.

He was also a Swiss and is mentioned by Muhlenberg in his journal. He came to this country with his parents as a candidate for theology. He was examined and ordained by the English Presbyterians in 1739. He became pastor of the Reformed congregations on the Congaree, S. C., about 120 miles south of Charleston. In 1787 the Reformed and Lutherans in South Carolina tried to organize a union denomination called the Corpus Evangelicorum. There were in it five Lutherans and two Reformed, together with delegates from fifteen churches. Theus was one of the two Reformed ministers who entered this movement. He was a pious and learned man. His work for the Reformed Church was more permanent than that of the others, and its ultimate results may be seen in the present Reformed congregations in North Carolina, of which he was a forerunner in the south. His grave is about eight miles from Columbia, S. C.

SUTHER.

We can only gather the separate references together here. There was a George Suther, who was born in 1722 and came to America in 1739.

There was a Samuel Suther, who was born in Switzerland, May 18, 1722. His father with his family, twelve or thirteen in number, left home, March 28, 1739. All of the family except Samuel died on the way. They had a fearful voyage, their provisions and water being exhausted

six days before they saw land on January 5, 1739. They were then shipwrecked, 220 lives being lost. He was brought to shore on January 10. From that date to 1768 he was a school-master in the various colonies from Pennsylvania to Georgia. In the Pennsylvania Gazette of October 26, 1749, is the following advertisement: "Samuel Suther offers to give instruction in German, and refers to Schlatter, to whom application can be made." He seems to have been the school-master of the Philadelphia congregation. In June, 1768, he began preaching in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina. On October 25, 1771, he removed from Mecklenburg to Guilford, N. C., where he labored till January 7, 1782. In 1784 he with George Gurtner, esq., came north to collect money for the building of the Reformed churches. From Guilford he returned to Mecklenburg, where he remained till 1786, when he removed to the Orangeburg district, S. C. There he died, September 28, 1788. He was the pioneer of the Reformed, and with Theus laid the foundations of the Reformed congregations in North and South Carolina.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XVI.

BOEHM'S LATER LABORS.

Although parts of Böhm's life are taken up in other sections of this book under separate heads, yet it is important to follow more closely the life of this founder of our Church, so as to get a fuller idea of his work, and also to gain a knowledge of a number of things that otherwise would be omitted. During the almost two decades, from his ordination to the first coetus, he was like the apostle Paul, instant in season and out of season for the work of the Church. We found him pastor of five congregations at the time of his ordination, three of which he regularly supplied with preaching every third Sunday, Falkner Swamp, Skippack and White Marsh, and two only twice a year, Tulpehocken and Conestoga (and Oley in 1736, which he served, however, only for a few months, when Goetschi took it away from him.)

To these he added Philadelphia in 1734. Rieger, it seems, left the congregation in a low condition financially. They therefore appealed to Böhm to help them get the Reiff money, as they thought he had unusual influence in New York and in Holland with the classis of Amsterdam. It was quite a change for the congregation to ask him

thus. For this was one of the congregations that had objected, October 22, 1731, to his ordination on the ground that he had lost caste through the actions of his daughter, who having left her husband, was married again, although there was no divorce, and they charged Bœhm with having consented to the second marriage.*

But by 1734 all this prejudice against Bœhm seems to have worn off, and they were now glad to ask him to help them out of their troubles. They seem to have applied to him, April 20, 1734, for advice to help them get the Reiff money. This seems to have prepared the way for his call, which was extended on April 24, 1734. The letter sent him was signed by forty-two members, and was taken to him by two of the members. It is noticeable that Dr. Diemer, Hillegass and their party are no longer in control of the congregation. They were the ones who had so bitterly opposed Bœhm. As they were now out of the way, Bœhm went to Philadelphia, July 15, preached there July 21 and accepted their call in July. He installed the new elders and deacons elected, August 18. In doing so they accepted his church constitution, and became subservient to the classis of Amsterdam. On September 15 he celebrated the Lord's Supper with them. His coming seems to have given new life to the congregation, for by

* The Holland fathers, when they heard about it, said the matter was too dark for them to decide upon, as there was not proof enough of his wrongdoing, and besides they did not have knowledge of the marriage laws of Pennsylvania. She afterwards returned to her first husband.

November, 1734, the congregation rented a frame building on Mulberry street (Arch street), near Fifth street, next to the Friends' burying ground. It was a barn, which had been used as a carpenter shop. He remained pastor of this congregation for twelve years, till Schlatter came. With the exception of their inclination to Goetschi, 1735, they seem to have been true to him, and after Goetschi's departure he became more beloved by them than ever, so that when Schlatter came, many of them were unwilling to give him up. They stand up for him strongly against the charges of Dorsius, as we shall see.

His distant congregations, Tulpehocken and Conestoga, gave him some trouble, as they were so far away. Weiss, as we saw, early got into the Conestoga. The congregation at Tulpehocken gave him perhaps more trouble. We have seen how Miller took it away from him. After Miller went over to the Seventh-day Dunkards, Bœhm took them back again and administered the sacraments to them. Goetschi also attempted to capture them some time before 1740 ; for in February, 1740, the elders report that Goetschi had been there and preached and baptized, but that the congregation had not ordered it, and they write to Bœhm exonerating themselves. But it seems that after that they became anxious for a minister of their own. They had services regularly by a school-teacher, named Francis Layenberger, whose faithfulness Bœhm praises. But they were becoming large enough to have the services of a regular

minister of their own. Hence they wrote in the spring of 1743 to Zweibruecken for a minister, and during the fall they received an answer that a minister would be sent. A second letter was sent to them after that, saying that the upper consistory of Zweibruecken had made known their desire for a minister to Switzerland and Germany and Holland. The congregation said to Bœhm they had written the previous fall again to Zweibruecken, and would now (March 27, 1744) have to wait till the fall of 1744 for an answer. In the meantime they pray Bœhm not to be offended at them for writing for a pastor, but to come as heretofore and administer the sacraments to them. Bœhm visited them by the end of April, administered the communion to them, and instead of being offended at them, he sent their letter to Holland to show the great desire of the Pennsylvania congregations for ministers.

In one other of his congregations Bœhm had great difficulty. It was with the congregation at Skippack, which had been rent in two by Weiss and Reiff. As we have seen, the Reiff party built the church on Reiff's land, so Bœhm's party could not worship in it. The Bœhm party bought (August, 1735,) a farm of 150 acres, of which sixty were cultivated, with new house and barn on it, for \$528. On this they were to pay \$120, November 16, 1735, and annually \$36 with the interest. But Bœhm found it hard to raise the money. In their extremity he went to New York, October, 1735, where the ministers gave him

\$105.60. He then tried Philadelphia, but did not get more than \$19.20. So they were obliged to lease the place for \$24 a year, reserving the privilege of holding worship in the barn every four weeks, and they had still \$388 to pay. This property seems to have been ultimately sacrificed, owing to the inability of the congregation to hold it. At any rate, Schlatter objects to paying over the Reiff money to the congregation because it was extinct. But while Boehm was losing Skippack, another congregation was forming for him not far away, at Providence (now Trappe), so that his members at Skippack could ultimately go either to Providence on the north or to the new congregation at Witpen on the south, while the congregation of the Reiff party found Goshenhoppen church not far away. With his other congregations, Falkner Swamp and White Marsh, he remained on the pleasantest terms, although White Marsh was weak, its services being held in the house of William Dewees, and when he died the congregation became extinct, and by November, 1746, was swallowed up in Germantown or Witpen. His organization of Witpen congregation, February 3, 1747, will be given later.

Such were Boehm's relations to his congregations. We turn to his relations to the other ministers who came to America. We have seen the controversy with Weiss in 1727-9. When Miller came he refused to work harmoniously with Boehm. Rieger's relations to Boehm were

also not harmonious. Bœhm was much offended by Rieger's friendliness to the Moravians, so that he lost confidence in him as a Reformed. With Goetschi Bœhm did not get along at all, for the latter represented the independent spirit in the Church, while Bœhm represented the constitutional methods, in which he wanted to make all subordinate to the Reformed Church of the Netherlands.

With Dorsius he got along somewhat better, and they worked together to some extent, especially at first. And yet a division occurred between them, which when carefully examined was not Bœhm's fault. The causes of their differences were four.

The first cause of the breach between them was Dorsius' delay in sending the report of 1739 to Holland. Bœhm had gone to extra labor to prepare his share of the report. He had made an extra trip to his distant congregations, Tulpehocken and Conestoga, in the storms and snows of midwinter to gather its materials. He put his report into Dorsius' hands, February 26, 1739, signed by the consistories of six churches. He afterwards learned by December 6, 1739, ten months afterwards, that Dorsius did not send the report. Having heard that Dorsius had not sent it, he asked him. Dorsius replied that he had not sent it, that it was in a box, but that he had written to the Holland synods about the Pennsylvania affairs. Bœhm says he did not like such treatment after his hard labor in riding 300

miles in the severest season (winter) to get the report. Moreover he did not like it that his report should not be seen by the Holland Fathers, even though Dorsius made a report of his own based on it. Indeed the Holland deputies, when they receive the report from Pennsylvania, do not speak of Bœhm, but only of Dorsius. So Bœhm received no credit for his work. Bœhm, however, was not to be outdone. He had taken the precaution to send his report, March 16, 1739, to the classis of Amsterdam, who speak of receiving it at their meeting. Bœhm did not soon forget this slight of Dorsius, which proved to be the entering wedge of differences between them.

A second cause of the estrangement between them was Dorsius' casting discredit on Bœhm's education and ability to preach. It was the old charge made by Reiff and Weiss, trumped up again. Rumors came to Bœhm's ears that Dorsius had said that "Bœhm had no more influence in Holland than a boy." In a letter dated March, 1741, his five congregations of Philadelphia, Skippack, Falkner Swamp, White Marsh and Tulpehocken defend him against these charges of Dorsius. As to the first charge, that he had no education, they replied that they were well satisfied with his preaching. As to the second charge, that he worked on his farm during the week, they replied that this was not dishonorable, especially as the congregations could not raise much salary (he received only about \$24 a year). And in regard to the charge that he took his sermons on Sunday

from a sermon book and only talked at random, they say they have never known him to do this, but he has always preached to them with edification. They are therefore surprised that such rumors would come to the ears of the classis.

A third cause of difference between them was Dorsius' claim of superior authority and his interference with Bœhm in his work among the Germans. Dorsius was pastor of the Dutch congregations in Pennsylvania, but he claimed the Holland Church had appointed him superintendent or inspector over all the Pennsylvania churches. In truth they had not done anything of the kind. For the Dutch did not know of the office of inspector. That title was Lutheran rather than Reformed, and unknown in the Dutch Church. The Holland fathers later deny that Dorsius had been appointed inspector, and say that if he had acted thus, he had gone beyond his instructions from them. The classis of Amsterdam in 1739 found fault with him for the charge of ambition to lord it over the Church, and said they hoped this charge is not true. (Indeed it was a fact that not only did they not appoint him inspector, but they did not even appoint him minister to Pennsylvania. This was a private arrangement between him and the Dutch Reformed congregations of Bucks county through some of the Holland ministers. Consequently when he asks to be dismissed by the deputies of the synods from his congregation, they reply that they cannot dismiss him

because they had never engaged him.) Under this guise of an inspector Dorsius at times enters on the work among the Pennsylvania Germans, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper. Bœhm complains against this in his report of 1744, that Dorsius preached at German-town and administered the communion there, April 22, 1744, at which nine of Bœhm's members, and some of them subject to discipline, communed. On September 23, 1740, Dorsius visited Lower Saucon and baptized several children in the Egypt congregation. In the Egypt church-book he is called "Inspector Dorsius," a title which Bœhm ridicules. On May 6, 1744, he administered the Lord's Supper at New Goshenhoppen, where some of Bœhm's members at Falkner Swamp went to communion. These congregations were on the outskirts of Bœhm's territory, so Dorsius did not so much interfere with him, except when his members partook of the communion. But Dorsius, on July 8, 1744, visited Conestoga, one of Bœhm's congregations west of the Schuylkill. This was a direct interference. So although Dorsius denied the charge that he was seeking preeminence and marshalled his friends in the Dutch Church, as Antonides, Freeman, Santvoord and Frelinghuysen, to write to Holland in 1740, bearing testimony to his humility, nevertheless Bœhm was certainly right in making the charge. Dorsius, when he sent the questions to Bœhm as early as November 28, 1738, calls himself inspector.

A fourth reason for the difference between these two men was that Dorsius was a Pietist, Bœhm was not. Even before Dorsius left Holland there was a rumor that he was friendly to Pietism. Thus Wilhelmi, of Rotterdam, says, June 10, 1738, that Dorsius, when he left Holland, was favorably inclined to the Moravians. And so the deputies order deputy Probsting to write to him, December 20, 1738, warning him against them. Dorsius happened to be located in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, which was in the centre of the revival movement of Pennsylvania and New Jersey under Whitefield and Tennant. Being early inclined toward Pietism, he easily fell in with them and with Frelinghuysen, the Dutch pastor on the Raritan, who fostered it. For this Bœhm doubted his entire adherence to the Reformed. Bœhm's conflict with the Moravians made him all the more suspicious of Dorsius' position.

For these reasons the relation between these two men became gradually less cordial, although it was not Bœhm's fault.

One other sphere of Bœhm's work during these years remains to be noticed. It was his relation to the mother church in Holland. In 1729, when he was ordained, he promised to send yearly reports to Holland. Did he keep his promise? We think he did, although not all his letters seem to have reached that country, for we sometimes find gaps of a number of years. Thus in 1730 he

wrote three letters, in the first of which he greatly thanks the classis for ordering his ordination, and asked help from them, as his salary is so small—only twenty-four dollars a year—so that he was compelled to labor on his farm during the week, in order to support his wife and six children. On November 12 he complained of Weiss' actions as a breach of the reconciliation between them. But Weiss was at that time in Holland, and so no attention was paid by the classis to the letter. Of the years 1731, 1732 and 1733 no letters have been found, although he says he sent a letter in July, 1732. But in 1734 he sent them two letters, one of them a most excellent report, concise, yet comprehensive, of the Pennsylvania work, showing how the congregations could be fully supplied by having four ministers. In it he touchingly speaks of the district for the fourth minister, namely Goshenhoppen, and beyond toward Macungie and Great Swamp, where

“they thirst for the hearing of God's word as the dry earth for water. And of those in these regions many have already been to see me in great sadness, and complained of the pitiable state of their souls. Also there are several who are able to make the journey, who at various times have come to the communion at Falkner Swamp, a distance of certainly twenty-five or thirty miles, and brought children for baptism, which, however, was impossible for old persons and weak women : so that it is not to be wondered at that the heart breaks and the eyes are full of tears at this. But I cannot attend to this matter alone, for my years are beginning to accumulate, and my poor body is

also getting feeble, since I must not only make long journeys and preach, but also because these poor people are not able to support me, I must support my large family with hard manual labor."

What a touching appeal, sufficient to melt a heart of stone. In 1735, 1736, 1737 we have found no letters, but he claimed to have sent one, November 6, 1735, through a Mr. Ulrich, one of his elders at Philadelphia, who went to Europe, and another, November 29, 1735. He also claimed to have sent another, February 26, 1737. On March 10, 1738, he sent a letter, and in 1739 three, one of them his full report prepared for Dorsius, the fullest account yet given to Holland. In his letter of March 16, 1739, he complains that since October 19, 1731, nearly eight years, he had not received any letters from classis, or had anything to comfort him in his deplorable state. In 1740 he sent letters to Holland, one of which, March 10, is quite a full report, and states that he had inquired how much the congregations would give to the support of a pastor, and found that sixteen congregations had agreed to raise 123 pounds (nearly \$300), together with 165 bushels of oats. In March 26, 1740, he says that fearing his letter of March 16, 1739, had gone astray he sent another copy. His letter of April 4, 1740, is about the forged letter of Wilhelmi which Goetschi used against him at Goshenhoppen. A copy of it he sent with the letter to Holland as he had at last secured possession of the original. In 1741 he sent two letters, one by himself, the other by his consistories, to

defend him against the charges made against him by Dorsius. In his letter he refers with great thankfulness to having received about 120 dollars from the classis of Amsterdam, which was the first money he had received from Holland, and the first forwarded to America since Weiss and Reiff had collected money about ten years before. In 1742 he sends one letter, and in 1743 he sends none. He is too busy perhaps in those years controverting the Moravians to attend much to correspondence. And also perhaps his two published pamphlets, both of which he sent to Holland, may serve instead of letters.

In 1744 he sends five letters, one of which is a full report and another a full description of the Pennsylvania churches, their origin, history and present condition. This gives a bird's eye view of the condition of the Church when Schlatter came to America and reveals what he had to build upon. In 1745 he writes no letters; none are found. In 1746 we have found two letters, one of which speaks his thanksgiving to the Holland deputies for sending Schlatter to take up the work that he in his old age was feeling he must lay down. It is possible that he does not write more, because he feels that Schlatter is now the medium of communication with Holland. But in 1748 he writes two letters more, in one of which he makes some criticisms on Schlatter's work. If his suggestions had been carried out, much of the later conflict in the Church would have been avoided.

It looks therefore as if in all these years he had been faithful to his promise to the classis to report to them from Pennsylvania. During this time he stands like the lone man who cannot be moved, whose sole mission in life was to found the German Reformed Church. Weiss comes and goes to New York, Miller comes and goes to the Dunkards, Rieger comes and then goes to Holland, Goetschi comes for a brief time and then goes to Long Island. Bœhm alone remains during all these years the one standby of the Reformed who never failed. Storms gather around him as the Moravian controversy, men attack him, as Diemer and Reiff and even Dorsius, but he does not lower his head. He bears the brunt and comes out conqueror. Noble man, the future destiny of the Reformed Church was hanging on his hands. He thus was not only founder, organizer and defender of the Church, but also her preserver until Schlatter came to take the load off his shoulders. Then he could say with Simeon, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XVII.

THE EFFORTS OF THE HOLLAND SYNODS AND CLASSES TO AID THE PENNSYLVANIA REFORMED.

The early work of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands for the Pennsylvania Reformed was a very hard and patient labor. In view of the difficulties that they encountered, it is a wonder that they ever persevered in this work until its successful issue. One difficulty after another balked them. Nothing but Dutch perseverance ever enabled them to continue it. The Dutch are slow, it is true, but they are sure, and having once laid hold of a thing, they are sure to carry it out, if there is at all a possibility of doing so.

The attention of the Dutch churches was, as we have seen, called to the Pennsylvania Reformed in the year 1728 from two directions. The synod of South Holland, one of the nine synods of the Netherlands, received a request from the consistory of the Palatinate at Heidelberg, asking them to care for the Pennsylvania congregations, "who for want of churches were worshipping under the blue sky," as they were not able to help them. The delegate from the South Holland synod to the North Holland synod (which met three weeks later) brought the mat-

ter before that body, recommending a collection for Philadelphia.

In the fall of that year (1728) the other appeal came to the Holland churches. It came from across the water, namely, a request from the consistories of Bœhm to have him ordained. This, however, was not sent to the synods, but at the suggestion of the New York ministers to the classis of Amsterdam, under whose supervision New York stood. Thus this appeal of Bœhm was made to the classis which was in the North Holland synod, while the appeal from the Palatinate was made to the South Holland Synod, whose centre was at Rotterdam. And now appears one difficulty in the early correspondence. The synod of South Holland and the classis of Amsterdam worked for a long time independently of each other. This often prevented the one from gaining the information received by the other, which would have been helpful to the work. It is true, the Pennsylvania letters were sometimes interchanged between them, but that process was slow.

The work of the synod of South Holland was carried on by deputies. That synod appointed four deputies, and the synod of North Holland appointed two. These "deputies of both synods," as they were called, would meet together in ordinary session or coetus four times a year (March, June, September and November). The June meeting was the synodical session, as by it was pre-

pared the report for the annual synod in July. Besides these regular meetings, there were extraordinary sessions every month as the circumstances required. However the South Holland deputies alone were present at the extraordinary meetings. They generally met at the Cloister Church in the Hague. In this church (whose picture we give) most of the business that formed our early Church was transacted. In the small consistory or presbytery room of that church the fate and future of our Reformed Church was cradled.

The classis of Amsterdam, which met six times a year (January, April, June, July, September, October), also appointed a committee, sometimes called deputies, oftener commissioners,* on Pennsylvania affairs. The classis had a standing committee on foreign affairs, which had the general oversight over the foreign churches, but also appointed a special committee in Pennsylvania, to which the committee on foreign affairs was often added. They made their reports to the classis of Amsterdam.

These were the two bodies that had charge of the Pennsylvania work, the deputies of both synods and the commissioners of the classis of Amsterdam. In 1740 the classis of Shieland (Rotterdam) of the South Holland synod proposed that the care of the Pennsylvania churches be transferred to the synod of North Holland, as that

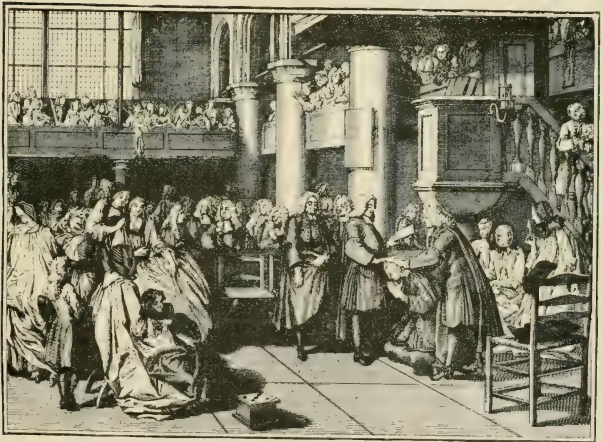
* We will use the latter term to distinguish them from the deputies of the two synods.

synod through the classis of Amsterdam had the care of the foreign churches ; but the synod of South Holland refused, because she had first become interested in the Germans, who passed through Rotterdam by the thousands on their way to America. The classis of Amsterdam and the synod of North Holland were especially responsible for the work in New York state, while the Germans of Pennsylvania were under the synod of South Holland. However, the classis of Amsterdam in the North Holland synod also aided the Germans in Pennsylvania very liberally. A change, however, took place in the method of caring for the Pennsylvania churches in the year 1753, when it was found unhandy for the two bodies, the deputies and the commissioners, to work separately. So it was customary for the deputies to invite the commissioners to send delegates from Amsterdam to their ordinary meetings at the Hague, and thus the commissioners became virtually an integral part of the deputies in their transactions.

The first thing that the synod of South Holland tried to do was to raise some money. After the appeal of 1728, considerable money was raised. Then they endeavored to gain information about the Pennsylvania churches, so as to have some data on which to base their plans for their work. They gained considerable knowledge by the visit of Reiff and Weiss in 1730. As if to emphasize what Weiss reported about the Pennsylvanians, a scene occurred



THE CLOISTER REFORMED CHURCH AT THE HAGUE
(where the Deputies met).



ORDINATION OF A FRENCH MINISTER AT THE NORTH HOLLAND
SYNOD, 1730, IN THE NEW REFORMED CHURCH, AMSTERDAM.

(This picture gives an idea of the ordination of our early ministers.)

which stirred their sympathies and led to immediate action. It was the passage through Dort in 1731, where the synod was meeting, of vessels of German colonists going to Pennsylvania. The minutes are so interesting that we give them in full :

“ Further, that since the synod was informed that a vessel lay in the vicinity of the city with fugitives from the Palatinate, who were traveling from their native country to Pennsylvania, and that another lay near Rotterdam. And since four of these (men) came to ask the synod for some money for buying some refreshments for their sick and exhausted companions, ill by reason of travel and bad food :—and since that by the advice of the this reverend body, it was not fitting that the money set apart by the classes for suffering churches be expended in behalf of these traveling fugitives : and since so many hundreds of people could gain little benefit from the remnants of the benevolent funds brought along by the classes : the synod has resolved to take up a collection from the private purses of the members of the synod, as also from the attendants of the meetings, to be expended in behalf of these fellow-believers : . . who must leave their native land for the sake of confessing the truth. Therefore the reverend assessor, assisted by the correspondent of one of the other synods, Van Eiken, and Rev. Mr. Louis have collected 200 gulden 10 stuivers (\$80.20). This money was placed in the hands of Revs. Messrs. Manger and Hoedemaker to divide it among these people, for which end these brethren were requested to take the trouble to visit these people to inform themselves as to their needs, and to make the division. After this the four delegated Palatines came

before the synod and expressed their gratitude for its liberality. The next day Messrs. Manger and Hoedemaker reported that they had executed their commission, and that other individuals had been moved by the example of this synod to liberality: among whom was Mr. Steenberg, M. D., and a fellow member of this body, who had visited the sick and had prescribed medicines. That they had found this entire congregation (of colonists) in poor condition, but well provided with Bibles, Psalm books and catechisms, and very assiduously observing their religion. That their reverences had admonished and promised them that if they tried to maintain the faith and a pure conscience in the land of their pilgrimage, they might expect the aid of the Dutch churches—that they had further expended and dispensed in refreshments, medicines and other necessities in behalf of two vessels full of these people lying in the river 130 florins 1 stuiver (\$72.02), as per bill, and for the people of the third vessel, which still lies at Rotterdam, and which is to follow, 70 gulden 9 stuivers (\$28.18).”

In 1731 the deputies begin the Holland correspondence with Pennsylvania, as the classis of Amsterdam had begun it three years before with Bœhm. They do not seem to know where to write, and finally write almost everywhere so as to get information. Deputy Ostade wrote, September 30, 1731, through Mr. John Hudig, a merchant at Rotterdam, to a Mr. Bolwerk, in London, who was supposed to know considerable about the new colony of Pennsylvania. He promptly replied in October, giving considerable information about the colony in gen-

eral, but nothing about the Reformed. He recommended them to write to a Mr. Arent Hassert in Philadelphia, who, he said, was a member of the Reformed congregation there. So, December 1, deputy Ostade wrote five voluminous letters, one to Hassert, one to Bœhm, a third to the minister and consistory of the Philadelphia congregation, a fourth to a member of that congregation, and the fifth to the Reformed ministers in New York, all asking for information about the Pennsylvania Reformed. He wrote enough letters to certainly get some reply, but year after year passed with no answer of importance. By 1733 they learned that Hassert had a son living at Haarlem in Holland, and from him they also learned that they had been on the wrong track—that Hassert was not a member of the Reformed Church, but a Mennonite. From him they gained some information about Pennsylvania, but nothing about the Reformed. Ostade in the meantime wrote letter after letter, usually several a year, until finally he threatened the Philadelphia congregation, whom the Holland Church had aided in 1730, that they would get no financial aid if they did not give the required information. Finally, on March 4, 1733, Rieger and Diemer, his elder at Philadelphia, write. They give the reason for delay and also considerable information about the Reformed. Several reasons might be given to explain the want of replies from Pennsylvania. Weiss had left Philadelphia for New York. Reiff had returned,

but when he did return the Pennsylvania affairs got into such a tangle that the less said the better. Bœhm did not receive Ostade's letter till July 11, 1732, and his reply did not get to synod till December, 1733.

But the deputies were still unsatisfied with the information given by Rieger's and Diemer's letter. It in some respects contradicted the information given them by Weiss and Reiff. They had said that there were 15,000 Reformed in Pennsylvania with only two ministers, while Rieger and Diemer made it much smaller (3000). Rieger and Diemer's letter too gave them the unpleasant information that Reiff had not turned over the money collected in Holland for the churches.

The deputies had long been desiring information ; it seemed now as if they learned too much, especially about Reiff. Correspondence continued, but it was slow. The Atlantic for nearly half a year (in winter) was closed to navigation. Deputy Velingius wrote, December 28, 1733, saying that they still had not enough information. Other letters came from Pennsylvania, but still they felt too ignorant to wisely devise plans to aid the Pennsylvanians. When Goetschi went to Philadelphia in 1735, they felt sure that now they would get a report. They had missed coming in contact with him as he passed through Holland in the winter, when the deputies did not meet. They did not hear about him till he had departed. But they were comforted by Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi, of Rot-

terdam, who told them that Goetschi had promised him that he would send a report from Pennsylvania. They wait for months to hear from him. The South Holland synod expresses its surprise that after he had received so large a sum of money from the states general of the province of Holland (2000 gulden), he had not yet given a report. They did not as yet know that he had died on his arrival. Their minutes, meeting after meeting, still say "no word from Goetschi." It was not till June 11, 1736, almost a year and a half after his departure, that they learn that he had died, and that this was the reason why they received no news. Thus their second effort to gain news was once more unfortunate, even more so than their first attempt in 1731.

But another star of hope arose in their horizon. While they were anxiously waiting for tidings from Goetschi, Wilhelmi announced that a young man at the university of Groningen was preparing himself to go to Pennsylvania, named Dorsius. They kept close watch of him, and before he left for Pennsylvania, they had him appear before them, June 11, 1737. They asked him to make a full report of the affairs in Pennsylvania when he arrives there, which he promised to do. Dorsius wrote on March 1, 1738, from Pennsylvania, giving them an account, but mainly of his own work, not of the Reformed at large. His church was Dutch, of the Germans he knew little as yet. Meanwhile the synod was determined

to gain all the information possible. So it sent down a request to its classes to suggest questions to be sent to Pennsylvania. These were catalogued and prepared by the deputies under thirteen different heads and sent to Dorsius. Dorsius, on receiving this, appealed to Bœhm to help him, and so the report of 1739 was formulated. But here again a difficulty intervened. Dorsius did not send it for ten months.

Meanwhile the deputies began to grow weary of their seemingly fruitless search for information. And when Dorsius' report does come in, it is not very hopeful. So they begin to consider passing over the care of the German churches into the hands of the Presbyterian synod of Philadelphia, if it can be done. Such an important change, however, like everything else, required much time for consideration. When suddenly before they had settled it, Dorsius appeared (1743) in Holland. Now they had at last a minister with them, who knew all about the Pennsylvania Reformed, and the deputies closely catechised him, September 17, 1743. They then requested him to hasten back even in the winter, so that he might prepare a report by February and send it back to Holland in time for the meetings of the synods in the summer of 1744. He hastened home, and again Bœhm hurried to help him. But though Dorsius sent the report, February 16, and Bœhm sent his in March, the summer passed away and the synods were over. It was not till November 16 that

they mention the receipt of these reports. And when the reports did at last come, they were so voluminous as to almost take away the breath of the deputies. There were thirteen letters in German, which the deputies did not understand. So they postponed their consideration till the March meeting, and meanwhile they would have them translated. These letters were considered at the meeting in the spring of 1745, two years after Dorsius had been asked to send them.

It is somewhat surprising that in spite of all these difficulties the Holland churches should still have persevered in their idea of helping the Pennsylvania Reformed. If they had not been firm believers in perseverance, as impressed on them by their Calvinistic doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, they would never have continued. The trouble, as we see it now, seems to have been that the deputies did not happen to have pursued the best course to gain the desired information. This was due to their ignorance and partly to their prejudice. They would have done better if they had made Bœhm the vehicle of correspondence. They would then have gained all the knowledge they wanted, for during all this time Bœhm had been sending reports to the classis of Amsterdam. And he was quite minute in his reports, as for instance, sending that classis in 1730 two religious books published in Pennsylvania by the Seventh-day Dunkards—one on celibacy and the other on the seventh day as

Sunday—so that the Holland Church might know something of the ideas at work among the Germans there. But the South Holland synod had been so prejudiced against Bœhm by Weiss and Reiff, who charged him with being an unlearned man, unworthy of his office, that they did not make him their correspondent. Bœhm, however, wrote to them when he found that Dorsius had not sent the report of 1739. Indeed, about all the reliable information the deputies received about the Germans was from the pen of Bœhm, only it came rather late, as his two reports of 1744 put them in possession of full information of the origin, condition and necessities of the German Reformed of Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile the deputies were not forgetful of their responsibility in relation to the Pennsylvania Germans. They, in 1740, ordered 130 German Bibles to be sent to Pennsylvania. But by the usual perversity of their fortunes these too were delayed for two years, lying in the house of one of their number. They were finally sent (1742)—half consigned to Dorsius and the other half to Frelinghuysen. But then for four years (until Schlatter came over) the deputies never knew what became of them. They also gave some money, not much, however, especially as compared with what they gave later. For although they raised money every year for Pennsylvania in their classes, yet their unfortunate experience with Reiff made them suspicious and fearful. So they kept it in Holland and invested it for future use in Pennsylvania,

In 1740 the classis of Amsterdam gave Boehm \$123.60, collected in the churches for him in 1740. It gave Dorsius \$36.80 for his trouble and expense of getting his report for them. When Dorsius visited Holland in 1743, they made him a gift of ten dollars. They paid for the Bibles sent in 1742, \$83.76. They frequently talked of sending over part of the whole fund collected for Pennsylvania, which they had been investing, but did not have confidence enough yet to do it.

They also took into consideration the sufferings of the Palatines on the ocean from the cruelties of sea captains, through which many of them sickened or died. The classis of Shieland (Rotterdam) brought before the South Holland synod (1739) the fact that 400 of the Palatine emigrants had died on the way across the ocean of starvation, and according to other reports there are said to have been as many as 2000. In 1740 this was brought to the notice of the South Holland synod. They tried to use their good offices to have these evils corrected. The deputies were ordered to look after the matter, and they went to the grand pensionary. He told them they must go to the burgomasters of Rotterdam, from whence the ships sailed. They then went to the burgomasters, but these said that their jurisdiction did not extend beyond the city limits. They suggested that inquiry be made through the Messrs. Hope, which firm sent most of the drafts from the Holland churches to America. These replied that the

sickness of which they had heard had not been caused by the ships, but brought down from the Palatinate. This, however, was not true in all cases, for the Palatines often suffered terrible abuses on the ocean. But the Messrs. Hope made the suggestion that commissioners should be appointed by the state to carefully inspect everything in the ships before they left port. Thus the deputies were not able to do anything in the matter, but their efforts show their good intentions.

Meanwhile, while the deputies were thus busy about the Palatines in Pennsylvania, they also reveal great interest, care and diligence in their correspondence in another direction, namely with Germany and Switzerland, so as to get them interested in the Pennsylvania Germans. They, as early as 1731, determined to write for a capable German minister to go to Pennsylvania. This was decided on after the adoption of the church constitution in 1730. This search they continued for fifteen years. Their continued efforts in this direction reveal their intense interest in Pennsylvania. They remind us of Diogenes at Athens and the prophet Ezekiel at Jerusalem seeking for a man—to go to Pennsylvania. In 1732 their eyes were turned to Professor Hottinger, of Heidelberg university, one of the most prominent Reformed ministers of the Palatinate. The North Holland synod suggested that he be invited to go to Pennsylvania to organize the Church there. But the South Holland deputies

pleaded that they had no instructions from their synod, and so the matter, as usual with the Dutch, was delayed. They thought they had probably found a suitable man in Goetschi. His death halted things for a while, as they determined not to write to Germany until they had heard from him. Then when Dorsius went over, they had great hopes that he might fulfil their wishes by gaining information, and he gradually succeeded in sending to them the information they had been waiting for. Thus matters ran along. They were continually waiting for more information from America. When finally the reports of 1744 came to hand in 1745, these were so full that the deputies at once felt they had now enough information to warrant sending a minister. Then they made an appeal, which ultimately led Schlatter's going to America. Thus was the perseverance of the Holland Church finally rewarded after innumerable obstacles. For this long patience and continuance in well-doing the Germans of Pennsylvania owe the Holland Church a debt of gratitude. The latter were rewarded by laying the foundation of a Church in the new world that has become large and influential.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XVIII.

THE EARLY LIFE OF SCHLATTER.

Rev. Michael Schlatter was born at St. Gall, the seat of the famous Catholic abbey, and it is now the highest large city of Europe, situated in northeastern Switzerland. He came of a prominent family. There were two main Schlatter families in St. Gall since the reformation. From the one came that sweet poetess, Anna Schlatter, from the other branch came Michael Schlatter. His grandfather, Rev. Michael Schlatter, had been prominent as the head of the St. Gall Reformed church, having been elected dekan or superintendent of that church, July 2, 1713. His grandmother was a Hochreutiner. His father's name was Paul, who was a bookkeeper. He had been married to Magdalena Zollikoffer, November 17, 1713. The Zollikoffer family was, like the Schlatter family, one of the most prominent in St. Gall. One of its members, Rev. George Joachim Zollikoffer, of Leipsic, Germany, was the great pulpit orator of the last century.

Michael was the oldest of Paul Schlatter's children, being born on July 14, 1716. He was baptized and confirmed in the St. Lawrence Reformed church, located just outside of the gate of the abbey. As a boy he could not

help being impressed by this abbey, by its splendor, its superstition and its persecution. Like his forefathers he would share in their opposition to all that was Romanizing, and like them, cling strongly to what was Reformed. Perhaps it might be interesting to know what were the religious customs to which he conformed. Three times on Sunday he could attend service. At 5 a. m. there was an early service. At 11 a. m. there was another, and the chief service of the day. In the afternoon there had been a catechetical service, at which, as in many other Reformed lands, a sermon was preached on some question on the catechism, (for the Heidelberg Catechism had been introduced into St. Gall as early as 1614, and in it young Schlatter was catechised.) The worship of the church was simple, as in all the Reformed churches, very different from the great Catholic abbey just across the square. It had no responses, no amens. The church had no altar, only a font and a pulpit. The congregation joined in the singing, but there was no organ to accompany them, for the Reformed considered organs too Catholic to be used. In 1707 some of the wealthy citizens of St. Gall had tried to have an organ placed in this church, but the Reformed were too strict in their ideas about the simplicity of worship to allow it. On account of their prejudice it was not placed there until 1762, so young Michael must have heard the singing of the congregation accompanied only by the trumpet and hautboy. We must not be much surprised at the bitter

feeling of the people against anything that they thought savored of Rome, for they and their ancestors had suffered too severely from Romish persecution, which always strengthens prejudice. We know little directly about his early life except that he seems to have been of a somewhat roving disposition, a trait which God afterwards used for His glory in bringing him to America to found our Church. He attended the cantonal school and gymnasium of his native town. Without the knowledge of his parents he went on a journey to Helmstedt, Germany, where there was a university, traveling for a time in company with a native of Berne named Hurner. He went to a lady relative in Holland, and during his stay there he attended the university of Leyden, where he matriculated December 27, 1736, and was a student at the same time as Dorsius. His testimonial from the Holland deputies in 1746 to Pennsylvania says he visited the five universities of Holland besides some in Germany, but we have found his matriculation only at Leyden. He then returned to St. Gall, where he continued his studies under Professor Casper Wegelin. He was examined and admitted to the ministry, April 10, 1739.*

It might be well to pause a moment and consider the state of religious training and theological thought in Switzerland, and especially St. Gall, under which he was trained. While southern and western Switzerland had fallen away

* Not 1730, as Harbaugh has it.

from the high Calvinism of the Helvetic Consensus by about 1722, Zurich and Berne were prominent in their adherence to it much longer. Indeed Zurich at that time told the foreign princes who tried to influence the cantons to give up the Consensus, that they should mind their own business. As late as 1741 in the controversy there about Professor Zimmerman's heterodoxy, the synod decided that the old confessional books were still authoritative, thus committing the Church to its historic Calvinism. The whole of northeastern Switzerland was largely dominated by the theological thought of these two neighboring cantons, Zurich and Berne, and consequently St. Gall was still Calvinistic at this time. Whenever changes were beginning to be felt in cantons, these were always slower in reaching the mountain cantons like St. Gall and the Grisons. Another significant fact showing the theological position of St. Gall is the following. Schlatter in his letters especially mentions George Joachim Scherer, pastor of St. Lawrence church at St. Gall, who perhaps confirmed him. He also especially mentions J. J. von Willerus, the dekan of St. Gall, J. Wartman, chancellor, Henry Stahelin and Zacharias Teschler (the last two with Scherer being pastors at St. Gall), and finally Casper Wegelin, his teacher. We are in possession of a life of Henry Stahelin, who afterwards became the head of the St. Gall church as dekan. He may therefore be taken as a representative of that church and its theological position. He was Calvinistic and predesti-

narian. Lampe's Covenant of Grace was his favorite book. He was also Pietistic, for he was a great admirer of Unter-eyck, the father of Reformed Pietism in Germany. He was so great an admirer of Lampe that in 1736 he published a catechism based on the Heidelberg Catechism, but modeled after Lampe's "Milk of Truth" and named after it. He writes toward the close of his life, 1758, about the rationalism that has entered the Zurich church, "that he looked with fear on it because the university of Zurich (where Zwingli had taught) now thought more of Arminius' and Limborch's works than of Zwingli's, and because at Geneva instead of the Calvinism of Calvin, Beza and Turretin, now Socinianism was taught." These things show his strong adherence to Calvinism. Rationalism did not creep into St. Gall until later under Professor Jacob Wegelin and Zollikoffer, the great supernatural rationalistic pulpit orator of Leipsic, a native of St. Gall. Schlatter was therefore educated in the predestinarian Calvinism of his church. He, therefore, when he came to Holland, found no difficulty in signing the Canons of Dort, as they agreed with the views he had been taught at St. Gall.

After his licensure as a minister Schlatter again went to Holland, where for a time he was a private tutor. The canton of St. Gall had so many ministers that a young man had to wait quite a while before finding a charge—some of them waiting as long as ten years. Finally, in 1744, he became vicar to dekan (superintendent) Beyel

at Wigoldingen in the neighboring canton of Thurgau. He remained there about a year, returning to St. Gall after Pentecost, 1745. He was appointed by the city council, August 19, as Sunday evening preacher of the Reformed church at Linzebühl, the southern suburb of St. Gall. (It was then about a quarter of a mile from the town, but is now included in the city.)* He continued in this position about five months. His church, small and plain, was still standing unchanged when the writer visited it in 1885. It seated about 200 persons. It has plain board benches, no cushions on the seats or carpet on the floors. The only furniture is the pulpit and the baptismal font. Altars are unknown in the Reformed churches in northeastern Switzerland, where, when they have the communion, they often bring in a table on which to place the elements.

On January 9, 1746, he left St. Gall hurriedly ("aus dem Staub," as the St. Gall Biography says). He first stopped at Schaffhausen, where he visited the postmaster. Then he traveled on to Heidelberg, where he met Baron von Luls, one of the most prominent members of the Reformed consistory; also Professor Hottinger and Rev. Mr. Cruciger. He came in the nick of time, or better, it was a providence; for just then the consistory of Heidelberg had received an urgent request from the Holland deputies

* His position as evening preacher meant that he preached there Sunday afternoons, while the leading minister preached there in the morning, when there was the largest attendance.

for a minister to go to Pennsylvania.* The Heidelberg consistory at once recommended him to the Holland deputies. He had certain peculiarities that made him especially suitable, as having studied and traveled in Holland before, he spoke Dutch as well as German.

Here occurs a very interesting fact, which shows how nearly Schlatter missed being sent to America and becoming the founder of our Church. The deputies having decided to open correspondence for a minister, had written to Professor Arnoldi, of the university of Herborn, October 13, 1745, as well as to Cruciger at Heidelberg. Arnoldi was the first to reply, his answer being received, November 6, saying that there then was no one who wanted to go to Pennsylvania. The deputies then ordered (November 16) their clerk to write to Rev. Mr. Meylink, professor of the Reformed university at Lingen, for a minister. But Arnoldi wrote again, December 29, two weeks before Cruciger wrote about Schlatter, saying that two or three candidates for Pennsylvania had reported to him, but they waited for further information as to the time of departure, traveling expenses, etc. He urged the deputies to reply quickly, as these licentiates might think he was not telling them the truth about the matter. But

* The Palatinate Church had the appeal of the Holland deputies for ministers read at their full meeting, and ordered it to be published abroad through the Palatinate by all the inspectors and superintendents of the Reformed Church. They declared that they would encourage men to go to Pennsylvania by offering them the option of returning at the end of five years.

the matter laid over till March 1, as there was no ordinary meeting of the deputies till then. As the deputies had not decided how much to pay as salary, they applied to the Commissary Van Hees for advice and information. He suggested they wait for more information from Pennsylvania about what salaries the congregations paid there, and that they ask the Herborn young men to wait. The deputies wrote to Arnoldi, suggesting that some of the licentiates might be willing to wait until the synods met, July 17, 1746, and they would then gain instructions from them about these matters.

It was while these negotiations were in progress that Schlatter appeared on the scene. His prompt appearance prevented any further negotiations with Herborn. A letter was received from Cruciger, of Heidelberg, at the same meeting that the letter from Herborn was reported (March 1). This was read, but deliberation on it postponed till March 14, when the deputies from North Holland would be present. (This letter of Cruciger said that Schlatter was willing to go and serve Lancaster at the terms they offered in 1744. We thus see that the original idea of Schlatter was to go to Lancaster.) Hardly had the letter been before the deputies (March 1), than lo, Schlatter himself was there at their next meeting (March 15). The deputies examined his testimonials and questioned him. They put all sorts of difficulties in his way, but were greatly pleased with the promptness and heartiness with which he answered them.

The minutes of this meeting of the deputies are so interesting that we give that part of them which refers to Schlatter :

“Rev. Clerk thereupon had examined the ascertained testimonials and motives of the aforesaid Rev. Mr. Schlatter and found them all genuine, so that he had caused him to remain here in the Hague until this morning, and now in advance gave favorable explanation of the matter besides handing over his testimonials, which were all read and found to be so laudable that the desire was felt to see the person himself, and to hear him speak ; to which end he was summoned before this session and appeared at the time appointed.

“He first gave utterance to a precious wish for a blessing upon this assembly, which was answered by a counter wish by the president. When the president thereupon questioned him about his so far difficult and expensive journey of about two hundred hours in this severe winter season in order to go and labor in the Pennsylvania vineyard, when he was already actually a minister in his native city of St. Gall, he replied to it that since he was still young, unmarried and inclined to foreign service, he had resolved, upon hearing of the lack of ministers in Pennsylvania, to go and feed these shepherdless sheep for five or six years, and that being the youngest but one of the twenty-six ministers of St. Gall, he drew but \$20 per year salary, and had the rather taken this choice, because if he were to be still living and wish to return to his country, he would then fall into the place of the ministers which had died in the interim. And St. Gall, having such an abundance

of ministers and licentiates, could easily be provided with another minister, whereas Pennsylvania had lack of both.

“When it was further represented to him that the salaries which the congregations in Pennsylvania offered to a pastor were very small, but that four elders and eleven members of the congregation at Canastocka in the city of Lancaster in the year 1744 had offered to a minister who should come over to them, about \$96 annually, he was asked whether he would be satisfied with that salary in case the place were still vacant. He answered ‘yes.’ And when, so as to be perfectly sure, it was added, in case this place might beyond expectation be filled with a minister, whether in that unforeseen case he would be willing to accept other combined churches which also desire pastors, but at the most offer only \$12 or \$24 for salary, with consent of the consistories of those congregations, in order to constitute thereby a comfortable salary ; when he was asked if he would first of all make inquiry after the state of the entire Church in Pennsylvania, how many ministers were needed there, and what salary each district would give a pastor, and write this to us properly systematized and signed, he answered ‘yes’ also to this, but added to it that he hoped the expense of doing such things in Pennsylvania would be refunded to him, which fact was agreed to with him.

“When finally it was represented to him that deputies would indeed meet the traveling expenses out of the moneys of synod, but that they had scruples about the expenses of his possibly long stay before a ship would be starting for Pennsylvania, he answered generously that his living expenses would not be much, and that he had supposed that soon there would have been an opportunity to depart.

But that learning now that it might probably be a long time before that opportunity came, he took this loss of living expenses on himself. The Rev. Deputies seeing his promptness, heartiness and Christian disinterestedness, combined with Christian humility, modesty and friendliness, were profoundly rejoiced that they had encountered so worthy and capable a subject, the more so because they understood that he had already at Frankford made arrangements for the sending of German Bibles and Catechism books to Pennsylvania. They conceived that through him they could organize the scattered Pennsylvanians, and accepted him provisionally as minister to Pennsylvania with the promise that when he should have obtained his dismissal, or rather his permission for some years from the church of St. Gall, they would later solemnly install him (to the Pennsylvania service), and fortify him with all necessary instructions." The deputies sent five ducats to Heidelberg to Cruciger, asking him to send German Bibles and catechisms.

Schlatter after thus appearing before the deputies at the Hague, went to Amsterdam, recommended by the deputies, to Revs. Kulenkamp and Schlluymen, two Reformed ministers there. Kulenkamp notified him and the classical commissioners that Lancaster was no longer vacant, as news had come that Schnorr had gone there. While Schlatter was at Amsterdam he learned that a vessel would sail to America, May 29. The Amsterdam consistory was very kind to him, giving him \$60, and the deaconate of Amsterdam gave him \$120 without his asking for it. (This church at Amsterdam has been proverbially liberal

to the Pennsylvania churches.) On April 13 Schlatter was at Rotterdam conferring with Rev. Mr. Wilhelmi, who had had so much experience about Pennsylvania affairs, and also negotiating with the Messrs. Hope Brothers, the shippers to America, about his passage. He was at the Hague again, April 25–28, at the meeting of the deputies. They turned over to him all the loose money they happened to have in the treasury, amounting to \$242.22. They also gave him his instructions. These were :

1. An introduction to the German Reformed Church of Pennsylvania, giving his reasons for being sent thither.

- a.* Because originally the settlers in Pennsylvania were from the Palatinate and Switzerland, to which two countries Holland was under the greatest obligations of gratitude, because from them the light of the gospel first streamed to Holland.

- b.* Because the Pennsylvania congregations are attached so loyally to their time honored Reformed faith, and

- c.* because Pennsylvania would become thus a safe asylum for the oppressed brethren of their faith of Europe when driven out by persecution.

Then they give two reasons why they have not been able to do something for Pennsylvania before.

1. They could not get a clear idea about the Church in Pennsylvania.

2. Because they had hitherto lacked a suitable German minister, although they had sought for one for fifteen years,

since 1731. They then say that they believe they have found a proper person in Rev. Michael Schlatter, one of the 26 ministers of St. Gall. He was of good family, well educated, understanding Hebrew, Greek, German, Dutch and French. After being admitted as a candidate to the ministry in 1739, he had visited the five great universities of Holland and the principal Protestant universities of Germany. He was willing, because of the great need of Pennsylvania, to go there, and they recommend them to give him a cordial reception.

They also give Schlatter the following instructions about his work in Pennsylvania :

1. He was to organize the ministers and congregations into a coetus, which should meet annually.

- a.* It should subscribe to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort with heart and voice.

- b.* It should consider the concerns of the Church, the members being appointed president and secretary in rotation, beginning with the oldest.

- c.* It should correspond with the deputies of the synods of Holland, and render reports of their work as a coetus. The deputies allow Schlatter half a year as a sufficient time in which to do this. After that he was to take charge of a congregation.

2. He was to fulfil the duties of a church officer known in Holland as the visitor extraordinary. He was to visit the congregations and find out their condition, learn how

many members each congregation had, whether they were steadfast in the faith, whether they paid a fixed salary to their minister and how. (The deputies say they are willing to aid the congregations in Pennsylvania, but they are not willing to divert the money which was already used to aid more than a hundred Reformed congregations in various parts of the world.)

3. Where there was no congregation as yet, he was to gather the most intelligent and zealous Reformed together, and learn how much money they would be willing to raise for the salary of a minister, and also how much they would pay toward building a church. He was then to install elders and deacons in those churches.

4. He was to ascertain how the 130 Bibles sent over to Pennsylvania in 1742 had been distributed. He was also to bring the money accounts of Reiff to a desirable settlement.

5. At the end of the first half year he was to hold a coetus, act as president, and send a faithful account of its proceedings to Holland. That having been done, he was to take charge of a congregation and become pastor. They gave him money only for his traveling expenses and for half a year's work, but hoped that the Dutch and the Swiss churches would contribute toward this worthy cause. This instruction was dated May 23, 1746, and was signed by all the deputies. They placed in his hand a passport of both the Dutch and English governments, and committed him

into the hands of Him who rules the wind and the waves. He sailed from Amsterdam, June 1, 1746, on his mission to complete the organization of the Pennsylvania Reformed Church by organizing the coetus.

After he left, the deputies did not cease in their efforts for the Pennsylvania churches. As he was a Swiss, they determined to appeal to the Swiss for aid. Hoedemaker wrote to St Gall, November 17, 1746, telling the story of the appeal of the Palatinate consistory to them in 1728 to aid the Pennsylvania Germans, and announcing to them that they had sent one of their countrymen from St. Gall, Michael Schlatter, June 1, 1746, to America. He asks them for donations, because many Swiss had gone to America, and especially as one of their own townsmen was appointed to organize the Pennsylvania congregations. He also asked them to name some other Swiss clergyman in some of the other Swiss cantons, as Zurich, Basle, Berne and Schaffhausen, to whom they might write in the interests of the Pennsylvania churches, as he was ignorant of such persons.

Hoedemaker received a reply, March 22, 1747, from Paul Schlatter, the father of Michael Schlatter, saying that he had handed these letters to the dekan of St. Gall, who replied that he had not proposed a collection for Pennsylvania, for the following reasons :

a. Because hitherto they had not been accustomed to transmit money to such distant lands.

b. Because within a short time they had had an unusual outlay for collections.

c. Because they had received no word of the success of Schlatter, either from him or the deputies, and this must first be sent before action could be taken.

Nothing came out of this appeal. There were probably other reasons why they did not help Schlatter, even though he was a Swiss, some of which will be given later, when another appeal is made to them by Schlatter in 1751-2.

Thus the Holland fathers had at last a minister on the way to complete the organization of the Pennsylvania Reformed churches. "Thus," say the minutes of the South Holland synod, "a great door of hope has been opened for the execution of a long desired project." His coming was truly an Achor, a door of hope through which has issued our denomination.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION XIX.

SCHLATTER'S LABORS BEFORE THE FIRST COETUS.

Schlatter left Amsterdam in Holland on June 1* on the ship *Great Britain*, William Davis, captain. His vessel went to Texel, and then took the northern passage, as did many of the vessels to America then, and went north of Scotland, stopping at the Stromness, in the Orkney islands, June 11–23. On June 23 they left the Orkney islands and began their ocean voyage. They sailed quite pleasantly till July 24, when they came at midnight into the greatest danger, as they found themselves off Sable Island near Cape Breton in imminent danger of shipwreck (“with man and mouse,” the Dutch expression for greatest danger). God mercifully preserved their lives from death. They arrived at Boston, August 1, at 10 p. m., after a voyage of thirty-nine days. Schlatter remained at Boston but three days, during which time he was kindly received by Hon. I. Wendel, a distinguished Dutch merchant and government officer.

He went to New York overland by way of Newport, because of fear of pirates along the coast, although he sent his baggage by water. He stopped and waited for it at

* The deputies say June 3.

New York, where he arrived on August 11. At New York he was received with great friendliness by the Dutch Reformed ministers there, especially by Dominie DuBois (the Dutch call their ministers dominies). He had been pastor, Schlatter says; for over fifty years, 1697-1751, and was eighty years old. DuBois died two months later, on the 5th of October, 1751. Schlatter stayed at his house for three weeks, waiting for his baggage. He arrived at Philadelphia, September 6, N. S. There an elder of the congregation, Daniel Steinmetz, received him into his own home, where he stayed for eight months.

With that intense activity and zeal which characterized him, he at once began work. He no sooner arrived at Philadelphia than he began his extensive journeys. On the day after his arrival he, with two of his members, went to Witpen to visit Bœhm. He found Bœhm working on his farm, but he cordially received Schlatter, and listened to his instructions. Bœhm greatly rejoiced at his coming, because it took a responsibility to some extent off his shoulders in his old age. In a letter to Holland, December 12, 1746, he says: "I thank God that finally after so many prayers and sighs He has graciously listened to me, a poor burden-bearer, and has permitted me to see such a kind brother and able fellow worker in His holy service." The next day Schlatter pressed on eight miles further to visit Reiff at Skippack, and influence him to close up his accounts of his collections in Holland sixteen

years before. Reiff replied that he was ready to do so, but he desired Weiss, who now lived at Goshenhoppen, to be present when the settlement was made. Weiss had been brought back by the same providence that brought Schlatter across the ocean, so that both might unite in organizing our denomination. Schlatter gave Reiff twelve days to arrange with Weiss about the matter. The next day he returned 23 miles to Philadelphia. The following day he went to Mr. Shoemaker, the merchant in Philadelphia who corresponded with the Hope Brothers in Rotterdam, to inquire about the 130 German Bibles, which had been sent over from Holland in 1742. Shoemaker said he had these long-sought-for Bibles in his warehouse, and at once delivered over to him 118 bound and twelve unbound copies without a cent of charge for them. The day following (September 11) was Bœhm's Sunday in Philadelphia. They both administered the communion to about half the congregation (one hundred persons). On Wednesday, the 14th, he received word from Reiff that he would come to see him on the 21st, and would be ready to settle the money accounts. In the meantime Schlatter used his time in trying to bring the Germantown congregation, which had never accepted Bœhm, to join with the Philadelphia congregation, which had Bœhm for its pastor.

On Friday, September 16, he visited Dorsius in Bucks county. Dorsius received him kindly, he says, and promised to lend his assistance in carrying out his instructions.

Here Schlatter made his first attempt at an examination of the consistory, such as the classical visitor does in Holland.* However, he was not able to do this, as he says one-third of the consistory were not at home. It would have been very inopportune at any rate, owing to the sad condition of Dorsius' congregation at the time. He returned the same day to Philadelphia, traveling thirty-two miles that day. On Sunday, September 18, he preached in the old dilapidated church in Philadelphia, on Isaiah 48 : 17, 18.

Here he tried to do what he had failed to do at Dorsius' congregation. He read as much of the instructions of the Holland deputies as he thought necessary, and asked them to vote by raising the right hand. He then put these three questions to every male member :

1. Whether they were favorable to having a regular pastor preach every Sunday.
2. Whether they would provide him a sufficient salary.
3. Whether to do this they would unite with the congregation at Germantown to form a charge.

These questions were answered unanimously in the affirmative. He then gave an opportunity for each one to subscribe toward the salary of the pastor, and sixty-nine heads of families subscribed eighty dollars. At his request

* His object was not to organize a consistory, as Harbaugh says, for the consistory had been organized long before, as we have seen, but his object was to examine, as the unpublished diary has it, the condition of the congregation and how much salary they would agree to pay their pastor, just as he afterwards did at Philadelphia and Germantown.

sixteen of them obligated themselves for the amount. In the afternoon he went to Germantown, six miles away, where he preached on Joshua 24: 14-25. He made known to them also his instructions from Holland, and then took a vote, which was unanimous on the three questions he had before proposed to the Philadelphia congregation. Sixty men signed their names to the subscription list for the pastor's salary, and the amount was \$66.40. Thus what Böhm had doubted could be done, Schlatter accomplished, namely, he brought the two congregations at Philadelphia and Germantown together into one charge. Schlatter rejoiced that now he had made a beginning in his work of organizing the Reformed churches and had formed the first charge—a good beginning.

SCHLATTER'S FIRST JOURNEY, SEPTEMBER 19-28.

The first day he traveled thirty-five miles to Weiss at Old Goshenhoppen. On September 20 he preached there in the new nearly completed stone church. In New Goshenhoppen Weiss had a difficulty, as an independent schoolmaster, Frederick Casimir Muller, had been preaching there before he came. Muller's party refused to acknowledge Weiss as pastor. The next day Schlatter and Weiss together visit Reiff in order to close up his accounts with the Pennsylvania churches. Reiff wept as he told the story of his collections and grievances.* He begged for

* The unpublished diary of Schlatter gives a number of new points on the Reiff affair, and puts some things in a new light.

mercy, says Schlatter in his unpublished diary, and then rendered his accounts as follows :

1. For books and the return passage of Weiss to Pennsylvania, 480 gulden (but Weiss knew only of 340 gulden).

2. He showed an itemized list of what he and Weiss had spent in Holland within the time of six months, amounting to 700 gulden. (A gulden amounts to 40 cents.)

3. For three journeys from Holland to Heidelberg to collect moneys at his own expense.

4. For trouble and time during two years' collecting in Holland and Germany, claiming for each day ten stuivers (twenty cents), making of the total a considerable sum.

Of receipts he confessed finally 2100 gulden (\$840).

His conclusion was that he did not owe the Pennsylvania churches anything, but that they owed him 100 gulden (\$40). Schlatter replied, basing his calculations on the 2100 gulden that Reiff acknowledged he collected in the name of the deputies of Holland, that he would be satisfied with 1000 gulden (\$400). He said it was quite reasonable to credit Reiff with the 700 gulden for expenses in Holland, and the 300 gulden given to Weiss. But the compensation for his work he must find in the interest on the money, the use of which he had for fifteen years. Reiff parleyed with him, but Schlatter was firm and gave him till October 3 to decide. Reiff promised to meet him then in Philadelphia. Then Schlatter went (September 22) with Weiss to Oley, and the following day to Lancaster

in Conestoga, so as to visit and confer with Rieger about presenting his instructions to the Lancaster congregation. Meanwhile Bœhm went to Tulpehocken on September 21 to notify the congregation there to assemble for communion. On Sunday, the 25th, these three ministers, Bœhm, Weiss and Schlatter, administered the communion there to 101 persons, but there were 600 more outside of the church. Schlatter says that he believed the congregation was 200 families strong. Many of the people wept, says Schlatter, at the sight of so many Reformed ministers together at one service. They had not seen such a sight since they left Germany many years before, and it revived many tender memories of the old home and friends in the fatherland. What an example for us, their descendants, was this love of theirs for their Church. If they loved their Church so much as to weep, we should love it too. Then Schlatter read his instructions from Holland, and they pledged themselves for \$133.20. He also appointed elders and deacons.* He says this congregation was tolerably free from sects. The next day, accompanied by Weiss, he went to Lancaster, but found that the congregation would not receive Rieger back as its pastor. He, however, preached to them on Deuteronomy 8 : 11-20 and presented his instructions from Holland to them. They agreed to raise nearly 120 dollars. He then

* We cannot quite understand, as this was an old congregation, and had elders and deacons before, some of whose names were on Bœhm's letters. It is probable that it meant he installed the newly elected officers.

returned to Philadelphia, where he preached, October 2, holding services at Germantown on the same afternoon.

The next day he had the third conference with Reiff, who came to Philadelphia and wanted to know whether his matters could not be settled amicably by Schlatter giving up his claim against him. They parleyed for two days. Schlatter was immovable and refused to take anything less than \$400. To close up the matter, Schlatter however offered to give \$40 out of his own pocket so as to have the matter adjusted. Schlatter said he believed Reiff would have been willing to compromise for \$280 or \$320, but he did not offer it. Then the elder of the Philadelphia congregation asked him to have arbitrators appointed, each party agreeing to forfeit 2000 pounds if they failed to obey the decision. He finally got Reiff to agree to this method, and the arbitrators were appointed, to report on March 16, 1747. Reiff repented, however, of this the next day, and was willing to give the 400 dollars Schlatter asked. But by this time the Philadelphia elders hoped to get more, and refused to compromise. The arbitrators brought in their report, as agreed on March 16, 1747, and awarded Schlatter for the Pennsylvania churches the amount of \$360, which he said he would hold awaiting orders from Holland as to its disbursement.

On October 12, 1746, the Reformed ministers having been invited by Schlatter, held their first conference in Philadelphia. Boehm, Weiss and Rieger were present.

Dorsius was not there, he said, on account of the sickness of his wife. In his unpublished diary Schlatter describes these ministers. As these descriptions were too personal, they were omitted from his published diary. He says :

“Domine Bœhm is a man who appears to me to be very sincere. It is also mainly owing to him, as is commonly said, that the Moravians have not caused more confusion among many congregations here. He also deserves the praise that he has been faithful and particular in his ministry and has not received much profit from it ; and no man can say, although I have inquired about that from more than thirty persons, that he has obtained from year to year, from all four of the congregations to whom he has ministered, £10 Philadelphia money, that is, outside of the accidental fees of weddings, etc., yet he has thus had in addition much trouble and disquiet.

“Domine George Michael Weiss is now minister in several localities. He is so far as I can comprehend, innocent in the transaction with J. Reiff, for the latter, according to his own acknowledgement, received the money altogether, and Domine Weiss has begged Reiff a thousand times to make an end of the matter. He has otherwise a good reputation here in this country, and Domine Bœhm himself told me that Domine Weiss had always conducted himself as a quiet, diligent, sober and orthodox minister. He also took the trouble to journey with us to Tulpehocken and Conastoka.

“Of Domine Dorsius I can at the present time as yet say nothing certain, inasmuch as I do not want to believe the evil that here and there is said of him, before I am myself convinced of it. This I can say in truth, that he

received me very amicably, and promised me every aid in regard to my commission.

“Domine Bartholomew Rieger is yet, as far as he truly and frankly assured me, and I always could observe in my intercourse with him, at present a pure Reformed minister ; but he confessed to me that at one time he had been a little shaky. The church of Lancaster was not able to say anything against him why they would no longer accept him as pastor, but so far as I can see, their antipathy comes from this that he has no particularly pleasing delivery in the pulpit, and is pretty sharp and exacting in the ministry, and also that he was so long out of the country, and had accepted the degree of doctor, and had begun to practice medicine. He now ministers to two feeble congregations outside of Lancaster. These are satisfied with him, but he cannot subsist from them. He therefore asked me a short time ago to provide him with another suitable place, which also I will do next summer with his aid.

“Domine Schnorr, on account of bad conduct, has been driven from Lancaster, and has now been accepted on trial for a year as pastor by a church in Esopus in the York government of the New Netherland.”

This meeting of October, 1746, was not a regular meeting of the coetus, as there were no elders present ; it was only a preliminary meeting. It was necessary that the ministers should become united before the congregations could become united.

“This,” says Schlatter, “ was the first occasion on which these brethren had all been together, notwithstand-

ing some of them had been laboring for twenty years in this part of the vineyard of the Lord. The object of this fraternal meeting was that not I, but the Lord might unite their hearts in love, which they not only promised to do in the most affectionate terms and with many tears, but also subscribed certain articles of peace and unity."

We have tried to find these articles referred to, or the letter which Schlatter wrote about this meeting, but have failed. Schlatter becomes eloquent over this meeting. "God be praised," he says, "for the brotherly union." The narrative of this meeting ends the first part of the diary he sent to Holland. The diary was finished, December 15, but as the season for navigation had closed, it was not sent to Holland until the following spring, and was sent March 1, 1747. The deputies, when they received it, were delighted that now at last they had gotten news from Pennsylvania. They read it and reread it. The synods, they say, thank him. And about his work of reconciling Böhm, Weiss, Rieger and even Reiff, they quote: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." They were greatly pleased that Weiss traveled with him to Tulpehocken, and thank him for it.

SCHLATTER'S SECOND JOURNEY, OCTOBER 15-21.

On March 15 he started on another tour through Pennsylvania. He first visited Muhlenberg at the Trappe, who received him very kindly. On the 16th he administered the communion at Falkner Swamp to ninety persons, and then made known to them his instructions, and

forty-six men subscribed \$40, besides some wheat and oats. On October 18 he preached at Providence in a barn, as the Reformed there were too poor to have a church, and forty-two men pledged themselves for \$28.80 and some wheat. But one-third of both the last named congregations was not present. Both congregations would, he thought, make up a salary of \$106.40.

On the 19th he went to New Goshenhoppen, together with Bœhm and Weiss, so as to try and heal the dissensions there caused by Frederick Casimir Miller. The union conference of October, 1746, at Philadelphia, meant more than mere friendship ; it meant that the Reformed ministers would support each other. And so Schlatter went to New Goshenhoppen to support Weiss and stop the spirit of independence in that congregation. Schlatter preached on the 19th on 2 Chronicles 15 : 2-4. After preaching he tried to win Miller's adherents over to Weiss. Miller was present in the church and had boasted on the previous Sunday (October 16) that the "black coats and white wigs, and Hollanders and Swiss might come, but they could not drive him away." (It was customary for the Dutch clergy to wear these things then.) Schlatter, to find out how many of the congregation were Miller's friends, asked them to raise their hands, but they refused under the plea that they did not wish to swear an oath, for which the act of lifting up the hand was the common sign. Weiss then tried the hat vote (which he seems to

have been fond of trying, as he did afterward at Philadelphia). He asked the Millerites to show who they were, by putting on their hats. But that they would not do. They seemed determined not to recognize his authority in any way. Then he tried another plan. If he could not find from the adherents of Miller who they were, he would find out who were the friends of Weiss. So he asked Weiss' friends to cover their heads, and thus against their own will Miller's friends were openly discovered by being bareheaded. It revealed that Miller's adherents numbered about seventeen or eighteen heads of families. Schlatter then went on, giving them his instructions from Holland, and thirty persons in the congregation agreed to raise for Weiss \$36 and thirty bushels of wheat. Weiss said that if Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp would go together to form a charge, they could raise \$106.40. Schlatter says that though he did not fully succeed in stopping Miller there, yet he put the congregation on a permanent footing.*

Schlatter then went to Indian Creek, where he preached in a new frame church, October 20, on Heb. 13: 20-21. Forty-six men subscribed \$28.80 and thirty bushels of wheat. He was in a quandary to know to what charge to append this congregation, as it was so far from any other congregation. A linen weaver, named Straub, had been

* This division in the congregation continued up to 1752,¹ when Leydich says it was the cause of the leaving of the school-master, John William Wiggand, who could not gain support enough because of the divisions there, and so Leydich recommended him to Lischy.

supplying the congregation. He says that if this congregation could be joined to Witpen and Skippack, the charge could make up \$94.20. On Saturday, October 22, he went to Germantown, where he preached the preparatory sermon and the next day administered the communion to eighty-five members. He had a personal examination of them the day before, as was customary in Holland and in some parts of Germany, and some communed who had not done so for ten or twelve years.

He reports to Holland that he received numerous applications for ministers from congregations, even as far as Virginia, 300 miles distant, from which two men came to him. He also reported that none of the ministers opposed his work, not even the independents, except Frederick Casimir Miller, and he was not able to accomplish much. On November 4 he went to Hall Mill, N. J., a distance of thirty-three miles. There he held preparatory services, had examination of the members and gave the communion to thirty-nine communicants. After this he preached a thanksgiving sermon and returned to Philadelphia on the 7th. He thus sums up the results of his labors at the end of his journal sent to Holland in the winter of 1746-47. He said the congregations lacked in making up a proper minister's salary, as follows :

Lancaster,	20 pounds.	Manakesi,	24 pounds.
Tulpehocken,	12 “	Indian Creek,	20 “
Falkner Swamp,	20 “	Goshenhoppen,	10 “
Yorktown,	10 “	Witpen,	10 “
		Philadelphia,	10 “

During the winter, when it was impossible to do much traveling, he remained in Philadelphia, preaching to the Philadelphia and Germantown congregations. He says :

“ While I am now in Philadelphia and during the winter cannot proceed with my commission, I preach twice every Sunday, that is, on Sunday once in the morning in Philadelphia and in the afternoon at Germantown ; and the next Sunday in the morning at Germantown and in the afternoon at Philadelphia. Wherever I preach in the afternoon, I do so on the Heidelberg Catechism, and after the service I hold a child’s lesson with the youth. Besides, I have planned out three days per week for six months, on which I give lessons to about twenty young people for one hour or more, who desire to be accepted as members at Christmas time.”

The arrangement seems to have been that Bœhm preached at Philadelphia, as before, every fourth Sunday, and Schlatter preached there the three other Sundays. Toward the close of the year the Philadelphia and Germantown congregations desired him to become their pastor. As Bœhm was willing to this, owing to advanced age and infirmity, Schlatter acceded, but on condition that Bœhm would continue his monthly services for six months longer, so that Schlatter might continue his travels through the churches until all were thoroughly organized. On the 21st of December Bœhm installed him, and on New Year’s day, O. S., 1747, he preached his introductory sermon at Philadelphia on Genesis 32 : 26.

But long before spring opened, Schlatter, with his

usual activity, was at his work of traveling through the country to visit the congregations. Even as early as January 29, in midwinter, he went to Skippack, where he preached in a house and made known his commission from Holland, but found the congregation so weak that it could raise only \$21.20. The distractions between the Reiff and the Boehm party had so divided it that Boehm and Schlatter claimed it became extinct. Many of its members had scattered to the neighboring Reformed congregations at Goshenhoppen, Trappe and Witpen. On February 2 he again went into the country, and before he returned, preached to Boehm's now new congregation at Witpen. This congregation was able to raise only \$26.40. If it could be united with Indian Field or Skippack, they might raise \$106.40. (But this was not likely, as Boehm was pastor, and he could not travel so far.) Having again returned, he was installed by Boehm pastor of the Germantown congregation, February 15, and preached his introductory sermon on Ezekiel 3 : 17-19.

On March 17 he visited Dr. Miller at Falkner Swamp, and baptized his wife and eight children. She made a profession of her faith.* On April 19 and 20 he was again at Philadelphia, preaching the preparatory ser-

* We must confess that we cannot understand why Schlatter did this. He says Miller was an elder at Falkner Swamp. If he was an officer in Boehm's congregation there, Schlatter had no right to go into Boehm's congregation thus, especially to receive her into his congregation, when the family belonged to Boehm's congregation there.

mon, and administering the communion to 165 at Philadelphia and 115 at Germantown. He confirmed twenty at Philadelphia on Thursday before Easter. On the 26th he traveled thirty-eight miles to Pilesgrove, near Hall Mill, N. J. There he administered the communion, and ordained and installed elders and deacons, thus fully organizing the congregation.

THIRD JOURNEY OF SCHLATTER, APRIL 29—MAY 14.

Schlatter now took his longest journey. He calls it the "great journey," because he went so far, even into Maryland. On April 29, followed by the prayers of his congregation, as he felt he was going on a long and dangerous journey, he started out. He was to go beyond the Susquehanna, which was then on the borders of the Indian wilderness. He crossed the Susquehanna when it was running very full. He says: "When I crossed the Susquehanna, it was greatly swollen, so that I crossed it with twelve men at the oars of the boat, and then only reached the opposite shores amid dangers, which threatened my life, the river being at that time about two miles wide." By May 2 he had arrived at York, where he found a large Reformed congregation, which had been founded by Lischy when in the Congregation of God in the Spirit. He preached the preparatory sermon and promised on his return to hold the communion for them on May 10. In order to get back by that time, he started on Monday for Conewago, where he held a preparatory service in a school-

house, and the next day gave the communion to eighty persons ; and owing to the great multitude of people he baptized twenty-one children outside of the church. He read his instructions to them, which they heard with great joy, and forty-five heads of families promised to raise twelve pounds and give some grain, in all \$53.20.

The next day he went to Monocacy, where he held preparatory service, baptized twenty-six children, and on May 18 he gave the communion to eighty-six persons, and to twelve with milk on account of lack of wine. He read his instructions, and forty-nine heads of families agreed to raise \$106.40. He suggests the union of the congregation with that of Conogochaque, thirty miles away. He said he found this region free from the influence of the sects, and that on 7000 acres there were none but Reformed. Then by evening he came back to Conewago, and the next day back to York (he always kept his appointments), where he held preparatory service on the 9th, baptized twenty-nine, and on the 10th held communion, as he had agreed. He found that this region had been much disturbed by Lischy and the Moravians, but nevertheless he administered the communion to 150 persons. He read his instructions, and 100 heads of families agreed to pay \$133.20. He then returned to Lancaster, where he preached on the 13th, and then back to Philadelphia by the 14th, traveling on his home journey eighty-eight miles. On the 15th he moved for the sake

of freedom into a rented house, although he was not married to Maria H. Schleydorn until October 11, 1747. He did this, he says, for great freedom for all to consult him.

On May 22 he went to New York to consult with the Dutch Reformed ministers. He says he went there to confer with the New York ministers about the founding of a synod for the Germans. On May 23 he wrote from Morris, N. J. This letter was sent to Holland with the son of Rev. Mr. Frelinghuysen. In it he suggests that he return to Holland, taking some of the Pennsylvania ministers along with him, so as to stir up interest in Holland. To this proposal the classis and deputies very decidedly say "no," for fear that during his absence his work might fall to pieces again. He asked the classis of Amsterdam in this letter that he and his colleagues might become members of the same coetus as New York, but the classis refused, as Schlatter had been sent out by the South Holland synod, and not by themselves; and also it seemed somewhat premature, as the Pennsylvania coetus had not yet been founded. He says that at New York he asked the Dutch Reformed for contributions for his new church at Philadelphia. They shortly after send to him about \$100, and Rev. Mr. Curtenius, their pastor at Hackensack, N. J., sent him \$144. He returned to Philadelphia on the 30th, and on June 7 (Whitsunday) he administered the communion at Philadelphia to ninety-four and at Germantown on the following day to sixty-five.

FOURTH JOURNEY OF SCHLATTER, JUNE 10-30.

In June he starts out on another rather long journey to the northern districts. He first went, on June 11, to the Zeltenreich's congregation, where he preached to a small congregation, which had formerly been served by Rieger. Twenty heads of families promised \$20 for a minister, if he would come once a month. On the 13th he administered the communion to the Lancaster congregation to 225 persons. The crowd was so great that many could not get into the church. On the 16th he preached at Donegal to a small congregation, which agreed to raise \$32. On the 18th he went to Muddy Creek, on the 19th to Cocalico, preaching at both places, on the 20th to White Oaks, where he preached a preparatory sermon. He presented his instructions to each of these congregations. Muddy Creek agreed to raise eleven pounds; Cocalico, six pounds, and White Oaks, twenty-three pounds—total, \$106.40. He says, if Zeltenreich's could be united with them, they would be able to raise about \$133.20. On the 21st he administered the Lord's Supper at White Oaks to seventy persons. On the 23d he preached at Tulpehocken.

He then went to a district that he had not yet visited, eastward along the southern borders of the Blue mountain, visiting Cacusi, Berne, Michael's, Maxatawny, Magunschy, Egypt and the Lehigh. From the 24th to the 26th he was near Bethlehem. There Lischy fell into his company and went with him to Nazareth. Schlatter

returned to Bethlehem and then to Manatawny. In this trip he had been passing through a region largely served by independent Reformed ministers. He then visited Sacony, where Wirtz was preaching, and also Springfield. On July 3 he returned safely to Philadelphia. When he arrived there, he found a very earnest and loving letter asking him to come to Amwell, N. J., and administer the communion to them. He does not seem to have traveled much during the summer, perhaps on account of the unusual heat of Pennsylvania. In August he addressed a circular letter to all the ministers and elders of the German Reformed congregations, asking them to join with him in organizing a coetus to meet September 29 at Philadelphia. Three days before this he administered the communion at Philadelphia to eighty-nine persons, and at Germantown the next day to fifty-nine.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH UNDER SYNODICAL GOVERNMENT.—SCHLATTER AND THE COETUS.

SECTION I.

THE FIRST COETUS.

The Reformed of Pennsylvania had heretofore existed as separate congregations or as individual charges. The first congregation, as we have seen, was organized in 1710 by Rev. Paul Van Vlecq. The first charge was organized by Boehm in 1725. In 1747 the Church ascended a step higher in church government and organized a synod, which, at the suggestion of the Holland deputies, was called a coetus.

The word coetus is taken from the organization of John a'Lasco, who first organized the ministers at Emden in northwestern Germany into a coetus in 1544. It was a synod with limited powers, and still exists as the oldest Reformed organization in Europe, except one, the Venerable Company of Geneva, founded by Calvin. Or its name may also have been taken directly from the deputies of the North and South Holland synods, whose united organization, when it met at the Hague to transact

business for Pennsylvania, etc., was called a coetus. So South Holland synod had two coeti—one at the Hague, composed of its deputies, and the other in Pennsylvania.

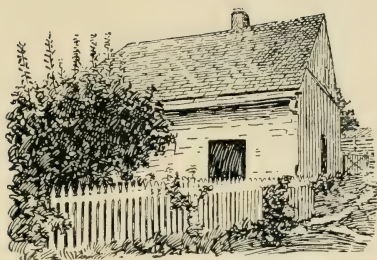
The organization of a coetus in Pennsylvania had been talked of for a number of years, but the Holland Church, as we have seen, had not been able as yet to find a German minister to go to America who was able to bring about such an organization. As early as 1738 such an organization was attempted in New York, when the Dutch Reformed ministers of New York and the German Reformed of Pennsylvania tried to organize one. Bœhm attended that meeting, April 27, 1738, which drew up a constitution. He was accompanied by his elder, Sebastian Reifschneider, of Falkner Swamp. Their actions, together with the constitution they adopted, were sent to Holland for approval, but the Fathers were so slow that it only eventuated into something nine years later, when the Dutch Reformed coetus was organized, September 14, 1747, at New York, fifteen days earlier than the organization of the German Reformed coetus. If that earlier organization of 1738 had gone into existence, the Dutch Reformed of New York and the German Reformed of Pennsylvania would now be in the same organization, as they ought to be.

Later both Dorsius and Rieger speak of organizing a coetus. Rieger, after his visit to Holland in 1744, tried to bring about an organization. He writes in his letters

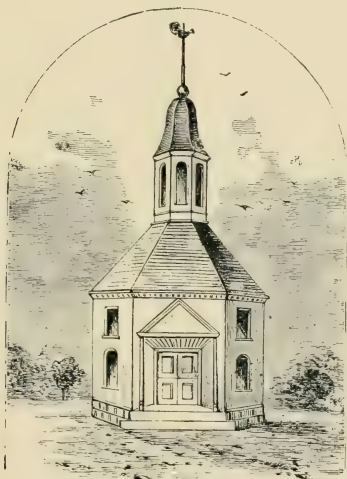
of November 16, 1745, that ever since his return to Pennsylvania he had been endeavoring to bring the Reformed into a union, but the wide extent of country, the scattered condition of the people and the division of sentiments have stood in the way. He said the people were beginning to lose faith in help from Holland, as no help of any account had yet come, although promised many years before. To stop this prejudice he suggests that classes begin aiding some congregations, that would become subordinate to it, and others would then become willing to join in the movement, so as to reap the benefits, and thus a coetus would be formed. But Rieger was not the man to bring about such an organization, as he had already lost influence among many of the Reformed. It needed a stranger, who had not been involved in local controversies like Rieger, to come in with the power and gifts of the Holland Church behind him to bring it to pass. Such a man providence found in Schlatter. His organization of the coetus marks a new era in the history of our Church. Heretofore the main idea of the congregations had been to live (self-support), now they began to live for each other and for the welfare of the Reformed Church at large. Difficulties, of course, there were. No great movement is ever unattended by difficulties. Nevertheless, it was an advance on anything previously existing, and set the character of the Church for well nigh half a century.

The coetus met in Philadelphia, September 29, 1747. It met in the old church building on Arch street. Four ministers were present, namely Boehm, Weiss, Rieger and Schlatter. Boehm was the patriarch of the meeting, and also its clerk. Schlatter is the most prominent member, as he was president. Twenty-eight elders were present from twelve charges. Of the elders perhaps the most prominent were Daniel Bouton from the Philadelphia congregation and Daniel Hiester, of Goshenhoppen. One of the elders had come a long distance, from the very borders of the Indian wilderness—Casper Spengler, who came from Yorktown, beyond the Susquehanna. Some of them came from the frontier settlements of Tulpehocken and Egypt, where the Indians still roamed and the Germans were glad to live in rough log huts. Most of them were plain country farmers or artisans, perhaps store-keepers ; but whatever their trade, they loved their Heidelberg Catechism and their Reformed Church, or they never would have traveled so many miles to organize her into a coetus.

The coetus was opened with a sermon by Rev. Mr. Rieger on Psalm 133. He could not have chosen a more suitable text : “ Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.” He evidently struck the keynote of the session. The coetus approved of the instructions of the Holland deputies to Schlatter, and also endorsed his organization of the congregations into



TEMPELMAN'S HOUSE (near Cornwall, Pa., where he began preaching).



THE REFORMED CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA (1747-1772).

charges and his efforts to find out what salaries they would pay for pastors. They appointed him to write for them to Holland and ask for ministers necessary to fill the vacant charges. They appointed a committee to look into the case of Lischy, who wanted to return from the Moravians to the Reformed. Schlatter was very much in favor of his reception, but Bœhm opposed it. They closed their sessions, of which there were six, by ordering the money collected by Bœhm for his congregation at Skippack to be given to Witpen, as his congregation at Skippack had gone to pieces. The ministers and elders went home, greatly encouraged to tell their congregations that now the Lord would provide help for them. As this coetus is so important, and only one copy of its minutes is in existence, as far as we know, we give the minutes in full :

“September 3–29. In the forenoon at 9 o’clock all the members of the Honorable and Reverend Coetus proceeded from the parsonage to the old church, where the Rev. Brother Rieger preached on Psalm 133 in a heartfelt and edifying manner, and to the general contentment of the hearers.

AFTERNOON AT 2 O’CLOCK.

The First Session.

“This session, like all those subsequent thereto, was opened with fervent prayer. In accordance with the desire of the High Reverend Members of the Synods of South and North Holland, the writer of this, Michael Schlatter, presided. Thereupon were the names of mem-

bers present of the Coetus recorded, and these were the following, to wit :

From Philadelphia and Germanton (Germantown).

Michael Schlatter, V. D. M., and President pro tem.

Daniel Bouton.

John Gaul.

Christophel Meng.

Paul Geissel.

Falkner Schwamm (Falkner Swamp), Providenz and Witten Thounschip (Township).

John Philips Bœhm, V. D. M.

Frederick Reimer.

Conrad Ribel and John Herpel.

Michael Klem.

Old and New Goshenhoppen, Grosser Swamp (Great Swamp).

George Michael Weiss, V. D. M.

Christian Schneider and Daniel Hister.

John Huth and Philip Reid.

John Huber and Nicolas Montbauer.

Schaffer's Church and Erlentown Congregation in Canastota.

John Bartholomew Rieger, V. D. M.

Michael Weidler.

Philip Rank.

Lancaster.

Vacant.

Tolpehaken.

John Stem.

Valentine Unruh.

Schipbach (Skippack).

Jacob Arnet.

Peter Speyker.

Indien Fiel (Indian Field).

Michael Berger.

Frederick Zollner.

Springfiel (Springfield).

Christian Schugg.

Blauenberg (Blue Mountain) and Egypten (Egypt).

Abraham Wotring.

Peter Kocher.

Klein Lechaw (Little Lehigh).

Henry Roth.

Sacon, near Herzel.

Anthony Lerch.

Jorgthown (Yorktown).

Caspar Spengler.

“It was further resolved that our General Coetus be held annually on Michael’s Day and be called together by the President then in office.

8–30. Second and Third Sessions.

“My Journal from June, 1746, to March 1, 1747, of which a full copy was sent to Holland to the very Reverend and High Deputies of the Highly Reverend and Christian Synods, and to the Highly Esteemed Classis of Amsterdam, was read word for word. The record of the journal was approved by the Coetus and its correctness acknowledged, and the subsequent writing authorized and ordered to be sent to Holland.

Fourth Session.

“4–31 Sept. Upon the written summons, by his Reverence Domine Michael Schlatter, sent from Philadelphia

to us, the undersigned ministers and elders of the High German Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania, that we appear in Philadelphia on the 29th of September, 1747, in order to attend the aforesaid Coetus, we, the undersigned, have obediently appeared here. At this Coetus the Rev. Mr. Schlatter read his communication to the High Worthy and Christian Synods of South and North Holland, and to the Classis of Amsterdam, done under date of September 22, 1746, December 15, and in the month of May, 1747, consisting of seven or eight sheets, commencing June 1, 1746, and ending, 'calling themselves with High Esteem,' in a clear and understanding manner, so that we have understood it well : and the following your very Esteemed Synodical instruction we have caused to be read in all congregations : and having approved (the same), we do hereby attest and confirm it.

“Done in Our Coetus Assembly, the first time held in Philadelphia under date.

“Further has the Rev. Schlatter made a report to the Coetus of his journeys made among the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania this spring and summer, which we considered and discussed. We have also in the most amicable and brotherly manner requested Mr. Schlatter to have the kindness, besides his multiplied occupations, to also take this trouble upon himself, and to make known to the Esteemed Deputies of the High Reverend and Christian Synods, and to the High Reverend Classis, the Acts of this our Coetus now being held : the which the Rev. Dom. Schlatter has taken upon himself, but requested therewith that out of the entire Coetus certain men might be chosen and authorized, who should

examine the aforesaid account (to the synods), which his Reverence should at his convenience afterwards write up in proper shape, in order to judge whether or no Mr. Schlatter had caught the sense of the Rev. Coetus. This proposition having been approved of by us, we have chosen these following men, to wit: Daniel Bouton, of Philadelphia; Paul Geissel, of Germantown; Frederick Reimer, of Falknerschwam; Johan Huth, of Goshenhoppen: who should comply with the request of Mr. Schlatter and sign our Coetus Report in the name of all. Signed by the following persons:

J. P. Boem, V. D. M.,	Philip Rank,
G. M. Weiss, V. D. M.,	Peter Speyker,
J. B. Rieger, “	Michael Berge,
Fred Reimer,	Caspar Spengler,
Joh. Dan. Bouton,	John Stem,
Paul Geissel,	Henry Roth,
John Huth,	George Ruth,
Christian Schneider,	Anthony Lerch,
John Huber,	Abraham Wotring,
Michael Kleim,	Peter Kocher.
Michael Weydler,	

Fifth Session.

“4-31, September. I have made up a report of what I have done in regard to the believing brethren in Pennsylvania since the month of March until the present time, as follows: to wit, read letters from Frederick Casimir Miller, Petersen, school-master of Indian Field and Seyfert: also a few letters from the Consistories to me from Manakesy, Canawake, Lancaster, Jorktown, Danigal, Makunschi, Lechaw (Lehigh), Rarentants, Cocalico, Klein Lechaw

(Little Lehigh), Sacon, Fark, etc. : all of which requested help of me and asked for the administration of the Holy Supper : Likewise a letter was read from the Rev. Pastor Hoedemaker, of the Hague, dated April 20, 1747, written to me, and was translated, stating that the letters which I had sent to Holland by Philip Ullrich were lost, but the first part of my Journal was duly received in Holland, was received favorably, and was considered by the High Reverend Synods and the High Reverend Deputies, October 1. I have also a letter from Mr. Jacob Lischi, formerly a Hernhutter or Moravian Preacher, written to me in the month of August of this year. In this letter he requests to be received as a Brother by the Rev. Coetus, since he would in the future labor among and with us as a true Reformed preacher.

“On May 1st I made a journey over the Susquehanna River, preached in Jork and administered the Holy Supper to 151 persons, baptized 29 children, 112 men promised 28 pounds and 200 bushels of fruit.

“In Cannawaken I administered the Holy Supper to 80 persons, baptized 21 children, and 46 men promised 11 pounds and 60 bushels of fruit.

“In Mannakesy I administered the Lord’s Supper to 86 persons, baptized 26 children, and 49 men promised 36 pounds money and 86 bushels of fruit.

“In the congregation at Jeremias Miller’s in Danni-gal I preached, and there 17 men promised 8 pounds and 38 bushels of fruit.

“The congregation at Bastian Reyer’s, where I administered the Lord’s Supper to 70 persons, promised 13 pounds and about 100 bushels of fruit.

“Cocalico and Moden Krick (Muddy Creek) received me partly with coldness and partly with impropriety. Particularly in Moden Krick was my instruction little respected, and they were satisfied with the Rev. Mr. Templeman, who preaches to them till now.

“Regarding the said Mr. Templeman, he appears to be an honest, well-meaning person, and to be beloved by these three above-mentioned and some other congregations—Quittobehill, Schwadare, Danigal, etc. Therefore it was resolved in regard to him that since he in sincerity to the best of his abilities has tried to keep these congregations together, without seeking or finding much advantage thereby, neither did he set himself against our order, but always desired to be an ordained minister, therefore his case shall be reported to Holland, and advice asked whether, when Weiss-Eichenland (White Oaks), Cocalico and Moden Krick receive an ordained minister, he might be ordained, and then Schwadare, where he resides, Danigal and Quittobehill be left over to him. Oly, Manadani, Maxadani, Makuntschy, Allemangel and Lechaw are not yet ripe enough. They should be let go until the hunger for true and regular ministers comes to fuller measure.

“In Sacon, Fark, Springfield, etc., the people are well satisfied with Mr. Conrad Wierts, of Zurich, excepting certain few. Poverty does the man great harm in his ministry, but because the man is of good spirit and no one can say any evil of him, therefore the truth in regard to his person and said congregations be reported to Holland.

Sixth Session.

“Regarding Mr. Jacob Lischy it was resolved that I and Mr. Pastor Rieger should journey, before winter sets

in, to Jork, on the Catores, to examine the affairs and needs, and the inclination of the congregation there toward Mr. Lisch, and then report everything, together with his above-mentioned request, to Holland, and obtain advice whether we can or ought to accept him if he should unreservedly submit to all regulations and allow himself to be ordained anew. It is also resolved that in the letter to Holland, Manakesy, Caniketschik in Maryland, and Schanador, Soutbrensch, Botomic and Lykens Ron, or Germantown, be most favorably mentioned, and we intercede for the same, that they may receive a preacher for themselves, or at least some other help.

“In regard to the differences in Schipbach, about the money collected in New York for the church of Schipbach by the Rev. Mr. Bœhm in the year 17—, these are arranged in the following manner :

“1. According to the original offer of the Reformed people who at present belong or adhere to the congregation at Schipbach, or intend to join the same, eighteen men were found who promised together 8 pounds 8 shillings for a minister, who should also minister to them.

“2. Brother Bœhm has served the church at Schipbach for more than twenty years, has received little salary, and, as he says, up to this time he has never been able to bring it about that they might build a church from the money collected.

“3. The Congregation was entirely scattered, so that for a year there were not five families who remained loyal to Brother Bœhm.

“Brother Bœhm made the following proposition to the Coetus, namely : Whether he might not properly

apply and expend this money collected in New York, consisting of 44 pounds, for the Church and congregation which should be erected in Witpen Township.

“The Coetus made no objection to Rev. Brother Bœhm’s proposition, should the congregation at Schipbach also agree to it.

“Whereupon then the brethren from Schipbach, as the representatives of the congregation, Messrs. Jac. Ar-ent and Peter Speyker, came to the following agreement with pastor Bœhm before the whole Coetus.

“Agreed and declared :

“Namely, that it be permitted Brother Bœhm to use 40 pounds of the money collected in New York for the Church in Witpen Township : the other 4 pounds, as well as the other collections raised in Philadelphia and in other places for Schipbach, shall be delivered by Rev. Mr. Bœhm to the people of Schipbach.”

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION II.

SCHLATTER'S LABORS BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND COETUS.

After the coetus, 1747, Schlatter made his

FIFTH JOURNEY, OCTOBER 21–29.

He started October 21 and went to Lancaster ; then, in company with Rieger, he proceeded to York on the 23d, to examine, as coetus had ordered, into the relations of that congregation to Lischy. On the 24th he preached their preparatory sermon, and on the next day they administered the Lord's Supper. After it, Schlatter asked the congregation whether they would accept Lischy as their pastor, if sent to them by the Reformed Church of Holland. The congregation revealed itself divided about this. The greater part said they would prefer another minister. Lischy, however, at that time showed such meekness of disposition, says Schlatter, that he was favorably impressed by him. The committee, however, forbade Lischy for the present to preach or administer the sacraments. Schlatter returned home on the 29th, having stopped at Lancaster on the 27th to preach to the congregation.

SIXTH JOURNEY, NOVEMBER 13-20.

In November he again started out on another journey. This time he went to New Jersey. Starting on the 13th, he visited, after a journey of sixty miles, on the 14th the congregation at Rockaway, where he received twenty young persons into the Church on the confession of their faith, and preached a preparatory sermon on the 16th. On the 17th he administered the communion there, and in the afternoon he went ten miles farther to Foxhill, where he preached a preparatory sermon, and on the 18th administered the communion to forty members. On the same day he went to Amwell, thirty miles further, and the next day administered the Lord's Supper to thirty members. He preached a thanksgiving sermon at each place after the communion, and on the 20th he returned to Philadelphia, forty miles. He speaks with gratitude of these congregations. They were the first to offer to pay him for his services. He had not been receiving any money from the other congregations, and he did not ask for any, as he did not wish to produce on them the impression that he came among them from mercenary motives. Böhm bears witness to this, and says that in Philadelphia Schlatter turned over the perquisites that came in from the congregation to him. On December 6 he preached for the first time in the unfinished church in Philadelphia, which had no pulpit or windows. He did this because the old church was not large enough to accom-

modate the people. On the 25th and 26th he administered the communion at Germantown to sixty-one persons and at Philadelphia to one hundred. During the winter he remained in Philadelphia, perfecting the organization of the congregation. He began the church register, still extant in that congregation, April 6, 1747. The baptismal record opens January 10, 1748. In the early part of 1748, before March, Schlatter's heart must have been gladdened to see that Lischy, by the publication of his "Second Declaration of his Intention," publicly renounced the Moravians and returned into the Reformed Church.

SEVENTH JOURNEY, MAY 3-20.

When spring had thoroughly opened, he took the longest and most dangerous journey he had yet attempted, going even as far as Virginia. He celebrated the communion at Philadelphia on April 10 and at Germantown on April 11. He then started out (May 3) for Lancaster, a distance of sixty-three miles, where he preached the preparatory sermon, and promised to be back and hold the communion for them, May 19. Schlatter's journeys were peculiar, in that he always kept his appointments, a good example for the ministers of our day. No matter how wild the wilderness, or how great the journey, he would be back on time. From Lancaster he went to York, to inquire further into the case of Lischy. Then he went to Conewago, where, on the 6th, he preached a preparatory sermon. On the 7th he went to Monocacy in Maryland,

and on the 8th to Frederick, where he preached a preparatory sermon in the parochial school-house. There an elder undertook to accompany him of his own accord. He went eighty-four miles further to Conococheague, crossing the South Mountain, and arrived at Conococheague at two o'clock in the morning of the next day. Notwithstanding this, he preached that day.

By the 10th he had come to Frederick, but his journey seems to have been the wildest and most dangerous of any he had yet taken. There was no road, only a horses' trail. One day he traveled for fifteen miles without seeing either a house or a human being. How cheering must have been to him the company of his elder. He speaks of meeting along the road a fearful rattlesnake, seven or eight feet long and five inches thick across the back. "This," he says, "is one of the most dangerous kinds of snakes. Still, it warns the traveler by rattling when he is yet twenty steps off, so that he has time to avoid it." He thus came safely to the congregation at Fredericktown in Virginia on the 10th. On the 12th he continued his journey southwest, often in weariness and danger from wild beasts, to New Germantown, where he preached on the 13th. From this point he began returning, and by the 14th he had reached Monocacy.

On the 15th he preached at Frederick, Md., in the new church as yet unfinished, where he stood behind a table, he says, "on which were the holy covenant seals of

baptism and the Lord's Supper." He was greatly moved at this service. "When I was preparing myself for the first prayer," he says, "and saw the tears of the spiritually hungry souls roll down their cheeks, my heart was singularly moved and enkindled with love, so that I fell on my knees, in which the whole congregation followed, and with much love and holy desire I commended the house and the congregation to the triune God and wrestled for a blessing from the Lord for them." After the sermon he administered the communion to ninety-seven persons, and installed elders and deacons. He also baptized several aged people and children. He speaks especially well of the school-master of the congregation, a Mr. Schley (the ancestor of Admiral Schley), who, he said, was the best he had met in America.

On the 16th he administered the Lord's Supper at Conewago to fifty, came to York on the 17th, true to his appointment, where Rieger, according to appointment, met him so as to consider the case of Lischy. They had a conference first with the congregation, and to their joy found that they began to repose more confidence in Lischy. They also had a two hours' conference with Lischy upon the most important doctrinal points, and they could give the congregation the strongest assurance that they discovered nothing erroneous about his doctrinal positions, which made the congregation rejoice. On the 18th Schlatter asked Lischy to preach publicly on Matth. 22 : 14.

This was a hard text for one who had been a Moravian, like Lischy, to preach upon, for it brought out the doctrine of election, which the Moravians abhorred, but which Schlatter and the Reformed believed. (This was the first time Lischy preached since his difficulties there, and he did so to the edification of all the people.) Rieger and he therefore decided that Lischy might continue preaching to the congregation, but should not administer the communion until further instructions had come from Holland. This done, they went the same evening twenty-five miles to Lancaster. On the 19th, true to his appointment, he administered the Lord's Supper there to 265 persons. He arrived safely at Philadelphia the next day, having traveled sixty-three miles, thankful for God's providential care over him during his long and dangerous journey.

He was hardly home before a call came to take him away again. Dorsius, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was getting into trouble, and his congregation sent to Schlatter to come to them. He, however, did not go at once, but waited until the 29th and 30th (Whitsunday) had passed, when he administered the communion at Germantown to sixty-one and at Philadelphia to seventy-three members. He then took another journey (June 6-11) to New Jersey to the three congregations he had visited six months before. Having administered the communion to them, he returned to Philadelphia. On June 23 he went to Northampton and preached for Dorsius'

congregation in Dutch. (Dorsius' congregation had appealed, May 2, for a separation from him.) He tried to bring peace between them and Dorsius, but in vain. (The latter was still with them, but left for Europe, Aug. 4, 1748, O. S.) Schlatter promised to aid them and supply them with preaching once a month on a week day.

He then returned to Philadelphia. During the summer he as usual did not attempt any extended journeys. On August 13 his heart was gladdened by the arrival of two new Reformed ministers, Bartholomaeus and Hochreutiner, who came with letters from the Holland deputies. On the 17th they visited Böhm at his home at Witpen. Schlatter at once put them to work. He took Bartholomaeus to Lancaster on September 2, where he preached on the 4th, much to the satisfaction of the congregation. On the 7th he preached at Tulpehocken. They then returned to Oley, where he preached at Falkner Swamp, which congregation Böhm was anxious to give up, as it was too far from his home, and he was beginning to feel the effects of age. The young man does not seem to have been so used to travel as Schlatter, for Schlatter left him to rest at Falkner Swamp, while he pressed on to Philadelphia on the 8th. On the 10th Schlatter was again at Lancaster, whither Hochreutiner had gone on the 8th to preach the preparatory sermon, which he did to their great satisfaction. On the 11th both administered the Lord's Supper to that congregation

to 150 persons. On September 12 they went to Tulpehocken, where on the 13th Hochreutiner preached, and on the 14th Hochreutiner preached at Falkner Swamp. But he, like Bartholomaeus, became tired out by the journey, and had to rest. Meanwhile Schlatter, with his usual energy, pushed on to Philadelphia. Hochreutiner preached at Providence on the 18th. On September 15, to Schlatter's great joy, another Reformed minister arrived, sent over by the South Holland synod, Rev. Mr. Leydich.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION III.

THE SECOND COETUS (SEPTEMBER 28—OCTOBER 5, 1748).

The second coetus of the Pennsylvania ministers was held at Philadelphia, September 28, 1748. It was opened with a sermon by Leydich on Ephesians 6 : 23–24, at 10 a. m. There were six ministers present, all being present except Weiss, who afterwards sent an excuse that he was detained by illness. The number of elders was much smaller than in the first coetus, only seven, as the congregations that had no pastors did not send delegates, either because they were not specially invited, as Schlatter had done before to the first coetus, or because they did not suppose a vacant congregation had a right to be represented in the coetus. Their constitutional right in the coetus had not yet been defined, as it had as yet no constitution. Weiss' absence was more than made up by the presence of the three new ministers, who had come over since the last coetus, Bartholomaeus, Hochreutiner and Leydich. Bœhm, according to the instructions of the Holland deputies, as the oldest, was made president, and Rieger was made clerk.

This coetus completed the task of the organization of the Church, which had been begun at the previous coetus.

That had brought the ministers and congregations together, this organized them together ; for it adopted the constitution of the Church, and also its creeds.

As to creed, the coetus, at the request of the Holland deputies, adopted as their creeds, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort. This they could easily do, as all the ministers had individually subscribed to them before. These creeds were not forced upon them, as has been said. They are careful to state in the minutes that they adopted them "with heart and soul." And they faithfully held to the Dutch creeds in loving submission. Rieger was the only one who refused, but even his elder signed them, John Leim, of Conestoga. Their action on this point is so important that we give it in full.

"Article III. The president stated that a writing must be drawn up in regard to the following instruction given to the Rev. Michael Schlatter by the Venerable Christian Synods of South and North Holland to this effect : ' That the members of the Reverend Coetus should sign the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the National Synod of Dort of 1618 and 1619, declaring that they with heart and soul were devoted to the same, and will hold to them unchanged.' The Reverend Coetus considered it right and necessary to do this, and thereupon the following was submitted : We, the undersigned ministers in actual service in the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, having appeared at the appointed coetus in Philadelphia, September 28, 1748, together with the accompanying elders from our congregations, do hereby affirm that we are devoted

with heart and soul to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the National Synod of Dort of 1618 and 1619, and that we will also hold to them unchanged, as we do hereby.

Elders :

Frederick Reimer, of Falkner Swamp.

John Herpel, of Providence.

Michael Cleim, of Witpen.

John Leim, of the first congregation in Conestoga, organized May 31, 1730, where D. Rieger preaches.

Daniel Bouton, of Philadelphia.

John Heberling, of Tulpehocken.

Nicolaus Trewer, of Lancaster, the new city in Conestoga.

Ministers :

John Philip Boehm, Minister in Falkner Swamp, Providence and Witpen, President.

Michael Schlatter, V. D. M., Reformed Minister in Philadelphia and Germantown.

John Philip Leydich, Reformed Minister in Pennsylvania.

Dominicus Bartholomaeus, V. D. M.

John Jacob Hochreutiner, V. D. M.

Now, because Rev. John Bartholomew Rieger refused to do this in writing, he was requested to bring in his excuse in writing. He then himself wrote the following : ' In regard to the desire of the Christian synod, namely the signing of a paper by all the members of the Coetus, that they believe with all their heart and soul what is contained in the Heidelberg Catechism and the Acts of the Synod of Dort of the years 1618 and 1619, and adhere to them unchangingly, the said Rev. Mr. Rieger has heartily and sincerely declared that he felt some scruples concerning the article of the Synod of Dort treating of

predestination in the sense of Calvin, and therefore submits this as a case of conscience to the judgment of the synod.' "

This act of Rieger seems strange, for he had before accepted the Canons of Dort when he was at Amwell. It may have been possible that he accepted predestination, but in a lower sense than Calvin believed, as by holding to the hypothetical predestination and universal atonement of the sublapsarian school of Saumur in France over against the infralapsarian school of Calvin. This low type of Calvinism was held in the Palatinate, as by Professor J. H. Hottinger, after the Thirty Years' War. Rieger could have held to this and yet not held to Calvin's view, for Calvin believed in a limited atonement, while the school of Saumur in a universal one. Still, even though he held this low view, he could have signed the Canons of Dort in their historical sense. For there were quite a number of members of the synod of Dort, notably the English delegates and some of the Germans, led by Martinus, of Bremen, who held those low Calvinistic views, and yet signed the Canons, being allowed to interpret them in a free sense. And so Rieger could have done at this time. More likely, however, Rieger had become affected by the influence of Zinzendorf, with whom he had been intimate and who attacked predestination very severely. This may have raised scruples in his mind. Or, perhaps, his studies in medicine in Holland in 1744 may have lib-

eralized his views on theology, as they very often do. At any rate, whatever the reason, the coetus agreed to leave this as a case of conscience, and submitted it to the deputies in Holland as a case for their decision whether he should be a member of the coetus or not. Pending their decision he was received as a member of the coetus. Bœhm's mind, which was always running on constitutional lines, however saw the inconsistency of his being the clerk of the coetus when he had not signed the creed, and wrote about it to the Holland Fathers, asking whether Rieger could constitutionally be clerk of the coetus, when he did not accept the creed of the coetus. The classis of Amsterdam, in a letter of June 2, 1739, declares that Rieger's act was very disagreeable to them, and they earnestly urged him to accept the doctrine of predestination as taught by Calvin. Those in our Church who are not Calvinists have taken advantage of this act of Rieger's and quoted it as a precedent for the right of non-Calvinism in our Church. But it is to be remembered that Rieger afterwards signed the Canons of Dort again at the coetus of 1752, as did all the ministers.

The other important matter decided by this coetus was the Church constitution. They decided to adopt Bœhm's old constitution, which he had drawn up for his three congregations in 1725. They add to it a few regulations, to make it a synodical constitution (as it had been drawn up only as a congregational constitution)—as that no one

should be allowed to perform ministerial acts in the field of another minister, except in cases of necessity. If this rule were violated, the aggrieved party could appeal to the coetus; the marriage fee should be ninety cents, the fee for a funeral sermon should be sixty cents, and baptism should be gratis. No one should be considered a full member of the congregation, unless a contributor according to his means.

The coetus elected Rieger as the next president, and Weiss as the president for 1750. It took special action about the record kept of minutes of the coetus. These were to be given to the president, and if he died (as Böhm, being old, might), to the last president. They were very anxious that the minutes should be carefully preserved.* This constitution was ordered to be printed. Coetus approved of Leydich's call to Falkner Swamp and Providence, Hochreutiner's to Lancaster, and Bartholomaeus' to Tulpehocken. Lischy was ordered to bring in a confession of his faith, which would be sent to Holland, and in the meantime he was permitted to supply the congregation at Yorktown. Schlatter was requested to prepare the report of the coetus and send it to Holland.

On Sunday, October 2, during its sessions, the coetus celebrated the communion with the Philadelphia congregation, and on October 5 its members separated with joy.

* The set of coetus' minutes in our possession have been gathered from various places, and they are only the reports of the coetus' acts, not the original minutes. The set, however, is complete.

Boehm stayed in Philadelphia till November 13, superintending the printing of the constitution and of the minutes of this coetus. It seems that Rieger at first objected to signing the printed regulations, but he finally agreed to do so, although his objection about predestination had not been removed. Schlatter came from Lancaster to Philadelphia in October, authorized by Rieger to sign his name to the minutes as clerk, but he came too late, as the minutes, under Boehm's supervision, had already gone to publication.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION IV.

EVENTS BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD COETUS.

The second coetus was hardly over, when events began to fly thick and fast. The coetus had appointed Rieger to install Hochreutiner, and Bøhm to install Bartholomaeus at Tulpehocken and Leydich at Falkner Swamp. On the Sunday after the coetus, Bøhm installed Leydich. On Monday, October 10, Schlatter went on his usual semi-annual visit to his congregations in western New Jersey. After traveling forty miles, he preached at Amwell in the afternoon. The next morning he went nineteen miles farther to Rockaway, and in the afternoon to Foxhill, to hold preparatory services. On the 12th he administered the Lord's Supper at Foxhill, and after the thanksgiving sermon he returned to Rockaway, ten miles distant. On the 13th he administered the Lord's Supper at Rockaway, and after a thanksgiving sermon he returned to Amwell, twenty miles. There he administered the communion and preached the thanksgiving sermon on the 14th, and then rode forty miles to Philadelphia, arriving there late in the evening. During the day of his return he had felt a sense of depression he knew not why. But when he entered his home, he found that a startling event had taken

place. Young Hochreutiner, who had been appointed to Lancaster, was starting for his field of labor on October 13. The Lancaster congregation had sent him a horse on which to come, and an elder, says Sheitlin,* was waiting outside for him. At the last moment, as he was about riding away, he went up-stairs for his hunting piece, which he had brought with him from Europe. In getting it out of the closet, it went off. Another account says that he was trying to extract the ball without having the necessary means to do so, when it went off. Saur says it is conjectured that he was trying either to pull out the ramrod or put it in, when it went off. He was killed instantly, and was found immediately after, booted and with spurs on, lying on the floor in his room. The bullet passed through the left breast and was found under the shoulder-blade, next to the skin. On his person was the sermon which he had intended to preach at Lancaster two days after. Its subject was "The Divine Call of Samuel." The death of Hochreutiner cast a gloom over the early Reformed Church. Schlatter pays a tribute to him by publishing the sermon found on his person, together with a preface by himself, written November 9, 1748. This sermon was entitled "Hochreutiner's Swan Song." Its text is: 1 Samuel 3, 1-2.† It reveals a higher standard of ability than is placed on him by Sheitlin, of St. Gall,

* "Memorials of J. J. and G. E. Scherer," St. Gall, 1822.

† A copy of it is to be found in the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia.

in his book, who says that he went abroad because he had not the ability to sustain himself in his home Church at St. Gall. It is not an extraordinary sermon, but one of good average ability. It reveals that he would probably have made an earnest, faithful and acceptable minister. It seems a strange providence that his life should be so suddenly cut off, when he was so much needed by the shepherdless German Reformed in Pennsylvania. Saur in his paper tells a story of his humility, that he was told before he went to Lancaster that he would find the congregation composed of rough and untrained people. He replied: "That is what I want, because I wish I were a woodchopper." After his death, Bartholomaeus (December 21, O. S.) offered, out of sympathy with them in their affliction, to supply Lancaster monthly, and said he could begin April 2. There seems to have been some hitch in the arrangement, for Schlatter, on February 1, 1749, says that he had written to Tulpehocken and was disappointed with the congregation. He thought they had a better feeling toward Lancaster. His letter is lost, but he probably suggested that Bartholomaeus serve both congregations, which Tulpehocken granted, but kept three-fourths of the time. Lischy also tried to help Lancaster by sending them a call, September 12, 1749, which they should send to Zubli in South Carolina.*

* The Lancaster congregation had been supplied with preaching by John Hoffman, who agreed, May 4, 1747, to be school-master, chorister and catechist, and when there was no pastor, to read sermons every Sunday.

On October 16 Böhm installed Bartholomæus as pastor of the Tulpehocken congregation, while Schlatter preached on the same day Hochreutiner's funeral sermon to an audience streaming with many tears. On October 28 two Dutch students for the ministry, David Marinus and Jonathan DuBois, who had been studying in America, visited him and asked him to assist them in getting permission from the synod to present themselves for examination to the coetus, so that they might receive a call to a church and accept it. Schlatter promised to try to fulfil their wishes. On November 3 he received the confession of faith of Lischy, dated from Little Catores, October 29. This is very interesting, because it is the first private creed of a German Reformed minister in America, and also the first American confession accepted by the deputies in Holland.* He had been ordered by the coetus to prepare this confession, so that it might be sent to Holland, that the deputies might be able to pass judgment on him whether he was truly Reformed or not, and therefore fit to become a member of the coetus. It reveals Lischy as quite a bright thinker. It is, perhaps, the clearest doctrinal statement of that period of our Church. It consists of eleven paragraphs on the different doctrines. It states first the doctrine of God, then of the trinity under the three heads of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and then the

* For a published copy of this confession see the *Christian World*, Dayton, O., December 17, 1898.

Holy Catholic Church, justification, sanctification, baptism, Lord's Supper, prayer and Scripture. His statements of the doctrines of the Moravians (which he repudiates) is the clearest we have seen of that period. He shows himself in it in full accord with the doctrines of the Reformed. This confession was sent to Holland, but the deputies did not come to a decision about it until Schlatter came over there in 1751. They decided his ordination should be respected and he be received as a full member of the coetus. He was ever afterward the most devoted friend Schlatter had, and the energy he had shown for the Moravians was now transferred to the Reformed. He exerted quite a decided influence in bringing back many to the Reformed who had gone over to the Congregation of God in the Spirit, as at Donegal and Muddy Creek. In 1749 Lischy published another pamphlet against the Moravians, entitled, "The Warning Voice of the Watchman," printed at Germantown, a sermon on Matt. 7 : 15-23.

But even more important than these events were the last acts and the death of Bœhm. There is a letter of Bœhm, the last he wrote to Holland before his death, that is exceedingly interesting and very important. It already reveals a divergence between Schlatter and Bœhm on some points of cultus and of Church government. He writes to know whether Schlatter's commission as visitor is to continue forever, or whether the whole direction of the Reformed Church affairs is to be placed under the coetus now,

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instead of Schlatter. That question put into a nutshell the whole future of the Reformed Church for the next seven years. Was the coetus to be regulated by Schlatter or by itself? Bœhm thinks the latter would be the best method. If his advice had been followed by the Holland deputies, much of the future trouble would have been avoided. He also asks whether Rieger, who would not accept the creeds of the coetus, could therefore be president of the coetus the next year, or could be even a member. Bœhm was right here constitutionally. He speaks of his great joy at Lischy's return to the Reformed faith, and also at the arrival of the last three ministers. He also asks the classis whether the letters and donations from Holland had not better be sent to the coetus, rather than to Schlatter, and the president open them in the presence of the coetus, that thereby all trouble about the moneys would be avoided. Happy would it have been if the coetus had followed his advice. The future trouble of Schlatter with Weiss and Leydich would have been avoided. He also calls the attention of the classis to the fact that Schlatter used the Church order of St. Gall, instead of that of the Palatinate or the Netherlands, which was the Church order of Holland. He also calls their attention to an irregularity of Schlatter in administering the communion, and also in ordaining and installing elders at Philadelphia. We can not help acknowledging that Bœhm in these matters was right and Schlatter wrong.

But perhaps the most beautiful and even pathetic part of this letter—his swan song—was his description of the organization of the congregation at Witpen, where he lived. He says :

“When Schlatter had arrived in this country, and according to his commission had been in the country, and on his return entered my house, I could not continue much longer in my work on account of my years and the many fatigues I endured, and I longed that my burden might be lessened. I therefore revealed to him that Skippack had scattered itself and there was nothing there any more, but four miles away was Goshenhoppen with a union church. The distance from there to Germantown was twenty-four miles, in which no Reformed service was held. My house was almost midway between Old Goshenhoppen and Germantown. I also knew that there lived around me many Reformed people desirous for their true service. I asked him whether he did not think it advisable to organize a congregation in that district, however with the provision that it should be under the Church of Holland, and when I died it would not be forsaken, otherwise it would not be worth while to organize it for the few days which I had to live yet. But if he thought this wise and knew means to this end, and if he thought I could be supported in this work so as to have a scant living, then I would be willing to be somewhat quieter in my old age and contented with this small congregation, and thus continue my life in the service of the Lord. He therefore assured me that I should not be forsaken, and he would make favorable mention of it in his report to Holland. He also deemed it wise to organize a congregation in this place on account of the distance of the other places.”

He then describes how Schlatter came there on February 3, 1747, and preached a sermon in his house. It was cold, and only a few gathered. They elected three elders, and Schlatter found they could contribute only six pounds and three shillings. He said they must give fifteen pounds, or he could not write to Holland for help. Bœhm says :

“I was very sorry for the souls that were sad when they heard this, for although they were only a few, yet they were dear souls and desirous of salvation. I told him to describe it to Holland, and I would accept it for fifteen pounds (a year).”

Bœhm says he pledged them services every two weeks, and when he was home, every Sunday. He then pathetically describes the first building :

“We at Witpen (now Bœhm’s church, Montgomery county) erected a small stone church on the lot which we bought, and had well insured. The interior of the church is thirty feet long and twenty-seven feet wide. According to agreement I had forty pounds for this purpose, which money I had collected in New York as early as October, 1735, for a church lot in behalf of the now scattered congregation at Skippack. But the church costs more than seventy pounds. It is well built, with durable walls and roof, door and shutters. It is still without windows, and within devoid of all necessary things, so that more than fifty pounds are yet needed. But we can not help ourselves, for there are but few of us, and we are without means. Therefore we will sooner use the church as it is, as we have done throughout the whole summer, and sit on

the bare ground and on wooden benches, rather than make debts, for if we should make debts, I should have to suffer for it."

This was the last letter of Bœhm. In that letter he seems to have felt the shadow of coming events—death. He had limited himself to the pastoral care of that one congregation at Witpen. But his missionary spirit could not be repressed, and so we find him going out to supply distant congregations. A request came to him about the beginning of 1749 to supply the congregations at Macungie and Egypt, then on the borders of the Indian wilderness, and he consented, January, 1749. Perhaps an additional reason for doing so was the fact that his son had moved up in that neighborhood. It was while supplying this congregation that he suddenly died. He went to Egypt to celebrate the communion, preached the preparatory sermon, April 29, and died that night suddenly at the house of his son. As no Reformed minister was in that distant district, the funeral sermon was preached by a Mennonite minister, Michael Kolb, a neighbor of his son.* Schlatter did not hear of Bœhm's death till May 2, for he had been on a missionary tour to Lancaster, where he administered the communion on April 28. From Lancaster he had intended to visit Weiss, but hearing of Bœhm's death, he went direct to Philadelphia, where on May 7 he preached Bœhm's funeral sermon at Germantown, in which he

* It seems a strange providence that after Bœhm had so severely attacked the sects, one of them should preach his funeral sermon.

declared that Böhm's memory was cherished as blessed by many.

So ended the life of the founder of the German Reformed Church of the United States. He deserves great honor for his self-denying labors and faithful loyalty to the Reformed Church. His activity for her should never be forgotten. Schlatter's diligence was very great. He traveled, he said, 8000 miles in five years. But Böhm traveled more than Schlatter. He declared, July 9, 1744, that for eighteen years he traveled 104 miles every month to his congregations. At that rate, traveling for twenty-three years (1725-1748), when he gave up his congregation to Leydich, he had traveled 28,704 miles, a record never approached by any minister of our Church, not even by Schlatter. He was a man of great self-denial also. For twenty-four years (nearly a quarter of a century) he preached the gospel almost without pay, receiving about twenty-four dollars a year, and having therefore to support himself and his large family by farming. The only gift he received from Holland was \$123.60.

But far above all his other characteristics stands his devotion to the Reformed Church. True, he sometimes seems severe on his opponents, but it is mainly because he thinks they are injuring that Church which was dearer to him than life. Anything that interfered with its prosperity touched him to the core. It is, however, to be noticed that after the coming of Schlatter, and especially after the

coetus was organized, his severer traits mellow, perhaps also because of increasing age. We know of nothing more beautiful in his life than his forgiveness of Lischy. Bœhm was intense in his nature, strong in his likes and dislikes, and such persons find it hardest to forgive. Now, no one in all his ministry had given him so much trouble as Lischy, unless it had been Goetschi, and that is not probable. Bœhm was severe on Lischy when he was a Moravian, but when he was convinced that Lischy had thoroughly turned back to the Reformed, as was shown by his published Second Declaration and also by his confession of faith, no one forgave Lischy more heartily than Bœhm. This is all the more remarkable in a man of such strong likes and dislikes as Bœhm. He thus writes in his last letter: "Concerning Mr. Lischy, I must say that he has completely won my heart by his beautiful confession before the coetus, so that now, as true as the Lord liveth, I mean it well with him and rejoice in my soul about him." He then describes how Lischy had tried to make him out as a liar about him, and then says: "Now, since Lischy was a Moravian and corrupted, my soul does all the more rejoice over the great grace of God which he experienced. For my part, I have good hope that he will in the future be a good co-laborer to our true Church. May God who alone is the searcher of hearts grant him His blessing."

Very beautifully does Dotterer in his excellent little monograph on Bœhm's life describe his labors: "At that

time few lawful roads had been laid out for travel, and he had to thread his toilsome journey on horseback through the deep forest, over hill and across streams, over rough and torturous paths. At intervals of miles apart he would come upon the clearing made by the hardy settler, sheltered in a newly made log hut. At these rude firesides he would be a welcome guest. Here he comforted the afflicted and homesick, and at their Sabbath gatherings he brought to them those gospel blessings denied to them since they left their German homes. These many years he baptized their children, catechised the youth, married the young and buried the old. The record of his pastoral work, could we read it, would tell a thrilling tale and would throw a flood of light upon the family and general history of primitive Pennsylvania." Thus passed to his rest Böhm, the founder, the organizer and the defender of our Church.*

* For fuller details of his descendants, see "Rev. John Philip Böhm," by Henry S. Dotterer, Philadelphia, 1890.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION V.

THE THIRD COETUS (SEPTEMBER 27 AND OCTOBER 20-24, 1749).

The second coetus had determined to have its next meeting in the country, with one of the largest congregations, namely at Lancaster. To Lancaster then the members of the coetus went, and its session was opened on September 27 (October 8, N. S.) with a sermon by Leydich. Just as it opened, they learned that a new minister had arrived at Philadelphia, September 25, sent over by the Holland deputies, Rev. John Conrad Steiner. As he had letters to them from the Holland deputies, they adjourned to October 20, when they would again meet in Philadelphia. The congregation at Lancaster, which had been bereft of its pastor by the death of Hochreutiner, earnestly entreated that the new minister be sent to them, and they gave Schlatter authority to give Steiner a call.

Schlatter returned to Philadelphia on the 29th, and met Steiner and welcomed him, and on October 1, after having read his testimonials, he presented him with the call to the Lancaster congregation, which promised him \$240 annually, beside his lodgings and fuel.

The minutes of the third coetus (October 20) at Phila-

delphia have been lost. We can gather only a few of its acts from some references to it. The coetus acts were signed by five Reformed ministers. They were Schlatter, Steiner, Rieger, Weiss, Leydich. Bartholomaeus was not there, but word came from his elder that he was not well. The two Dutch students, Marinus and DuBois, were also in attendance. There were sixteen elders, many of the vacant congregations, therefore, being again represented. Steiner could not attend its sessions, as he was sick, as were his wife and two sons, but through an elder of the Philadelphia congregation he sent his testimonials from the Holland deputies. Rieger was president and Weiss was clerk. The coetus continued till October 24, when it was closed with a hearty thanksgiving, says Schlatter, for its unity of sentiment.

From different sources we have gained five of its acts. One was that Conrad Tempelman and J. C. Wirtz were present on probation as candidates for the ministry.

Another was in regard to the Lancaster congregation. This congregation was represented in the coetus by Paul Weitzel and Casper Schaffner. They had pressed their call on Steiner by personally calling on him. As he was sick and could not attend the meetings, the coetus sent a committee to him to ask him whether he would leave the decision of the matter to the coetus. Weiss and Leydich were the committee. Steiner received them kindly, and declared he would be satisfied with whatever the coetus

would decide. Coetus decided that he should go to Lancaster, and in connection with it serve the congregations at Muddy Creek, Erlentown and White Oaks, especially as Rieger as president of the coetus could aid him in serving Lancaster to some extent, as that congregation had now become reconciled to him again. And as Steiner had declared that he would rather live in the country, they suggested that as there was a comfortable parsonage at Muddy Creek, he might live there. He could then preach one Sunday at Lancaster, the next at White Oaks, the next at Erlentown, and the fourth at Muddy Creek. However, the elders present from Lancaster did not agree to this arrangement, but strenuously asked that Steiner be given to the Lancaster congregation alone, and besides, they did not want Rieger.

Another item was in connection with the Reiff money. Schlatter had been severely criticised by some of the Philadelphia congregation for his method of settling that case, as for giving Reiff a clear character at the settlement, and also for keeping part of the money. Coetus deemed it wise, therefore, to take an action in regard to it, so as to clear up matters. They passed a decision clearing Schlatter, saying that he had acted wisely ; that he had done just what the Holland Church had wanted to be done, although without their instructions he had given the congregation in Philadelphia half the money.

Another item was the complaint of part of the Phila-

delphia congregation against Schlatter. The coetus here decided against the complainants. Coetus declared there was nothing in the complaints that would make Schlatter unworthy of his office, as they charged, but that the complainants were moved to their action by such personal bitterness as to be deserving of censure. They therefore decided Schlatter was innocent, and urged the congregation to peace. This last action was signed by Rieger, Weiss, Leydich and, strange to say, also by Steiner, although the opponents to Schlatter were the friends of Steiner.

A fifth action of coetus asked Schlatter to send the minutes of the meeting to Holland.

When it became finally known that Steiner was not going to Lancaster, Weichsel wrote to Schlatter, December 3, 1749, describing the sad condition of Lancaster, and asking for a pastor. Before January 28, 1750, Schlatter sent them Rev. Lewis Frederick Vock. In their agreement they agree to pay him \$96.00 annually. Hanschuh, the Lutheran pastor there, on whom he called, January 29, speaks of him as an aged man, and said he hoped he would prove an efficient worker. But by September Saur reports in his paper a division in that congregation. Before a half a year had passed there was trouble. On July 22 Vock preached his farewell sermon, but by August 19 he was permitted by his opponents to return. His life seems to have been improper. And on September 16 Rieger (probably referring to Vock) published in Saur's

paper a warning to all Reformed congregations to be on their guard against religious adventurers who pretend to be ministers. Thus the Lancaster congregation had been singularly unfortunate. Schnorr had disgraced them, Hochreutiner had accidentally killed himself, Steiner refused to come and Vock proved unworthy.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION VI.

THE SCHLATTER AND STEINER CONTROVERSY IN PHILADELPHIA.

This unfortunate controversy proved to be the beginning of strife in the coetus for a number of years, but it did not begin with Steiner's coming. He was not the cause of it, but the instrument used by it. The seeds of it were sown before he arrived. Leydich, in a letter to Holland some years later, says that the difficulties between Schlatter and the congregation had begun even before he arrived in Philadelphia on September 15, 1748, more than a year before Steiner arrived. These difficulties had been brought before the coetus in 1748, but Bœhm, by his experience, influence and wise counsels, had managed to make peace, and so they were healed over for a time. But the trouble burst out afresh. Saur, in his German paper, reports as early as August 2, 1747, that there was already a division in the Philadelphia congregation. The full report of the case, with all the papers, was transmitted to Holland, and from it we gain a very complete and interesting history of the case.

Saur says that Schlatter demanded of the congregation that they give him a call which would make him their

pastor for life, to which many of the congregation objected, as they did not want to be bound to him for life. The example of another Reformed congregation, namely at Lancaster, which had made a similar arrangement with Schnorr, and was compelled to keep him after they had been disgraced by his ungodly life, was an example quoted by the opponents of Schlatter. Saur, in the article quoted above, probably did not state the matter quite correctly, as we shall see, for he was not a friend to church people or to Schlatter. But there is this substance of truth in it—it is evident that the Philadelphia quarrel began before Steiner ever arrived.

There were two main difficulties between them :

1. A Constitutional Difficulty.

On July 12 the consistory proposed a call to Schlatter, in which he was to preach every Sunday once, either morning or afternoon, and the school-master to catechise at the other service. When he preached in the morning the school-master was to catechise in the afternoon, and when he preached in the afternoon the school-master was to catechise and read a sermon in the morning. He was to teach according to the Heidelberg Catechism, and when he did not do so, the consistory had power to remove him. Somewhere about this time occurred the hat vote. He took the call he drew up, and which the consistory had refused, into the pulpit and read it. Then he took the vote, saying: "Those who are on my side, put their hats on." The vote

revealed quite a division in the congregation. On August 4 Schlatter submitted two calls to the consistory for adoption. The first call said that they called him at the advice of their former pastor Boehm. He was to preach, catechise, administer the sacraments and observe Church discipline according to the Heidelberg Catechism and the constitution of the synod of Dort. He was to preach once every Sunday, administer the communion four times a year, but have four free Sundays. It offered him no fixed salary, on account of the great debt of the church building, but they promised to keep him as long as he preached the pure gospel and lived a right life. This call was refused by the consistory. The other call was much like this, but was signed by a large number of the Philadelphia congregation. So it seems that Schlatter had fortified his case by having a large number of the congregation sign this call before it was presented to the consistory.

Schlatter was right constitutionally. The congregation having come under the coetus, was bound not to act in an independent manner, and accept or dismiss its pastor at will. The proper way would have been to ask coetus to acquiesce in the dismissal. But on the other hand it is to be remembered that the congregation had not been accustomed to that method of doing things.

There had been no coetus in existence before whose authority could be invoked. Each congregation had been accustomed to act independently, and the Philadelphia

congregation was loth to give up its rights. The ill fortune of the Lancaster congregation in Schnorr's case had prejudiced them against a permanent call. Schlatter had proposed to them the form of call in use in Holland, which was indefinite as to the time when the pastoral relation would cease. But they misunderstood this indefiniteness to mean permanence, and supposed it meant, as Saur says, a call for life.

2. *A Financial Difficulty.*

A cause for this uneasy state of feeling was the large debt of the church. When Schlatter went to Europe, 1751, the debt was \$1920. Boehm says Schlatter had led them to complete their church extravagantly, promising them a great deal of help from Holland. When this help did not materialize, a reaction naturally came against Schlatter. His enemies also complained bitterly about his actions in the Reiff matter—that he had given them only 60 pounds of it, and of this had taken back 15 pounds, because he said the congregation owed him 20 pounds. They say they then raised the 20 pounds, when he kept that also. They were especially bitter that he had given Reiff a public exoneration when he settled with him—declaring him an innocent man. This they said Schlatter should not have done, as every one knew Reiff was dishonest in the transaction. Schlatter, on the other hand, claimed that the building committee, which consisted of six or eight members, began to assume rights in building

which he considered arrogant. They replied that when the ground for the church was bought, Schlatter wanted his name to be entered with those of the three elders who bought it. They refused, and then Schlatter, they said, declared in a sermon that there were three men in the congregation who wanted to be masters. His opponents, on the other hand, declare that since Böhm's death he had wanted to be pope of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. Thus a number of the prominent members were at odds with Schlatter.

Such was the condition of affairs when Steiner arrived. It was a most unfortunate thing for Schlatter that the coetus met at Lancaster, and that he was away when Steiner arrived, for it gave his opponents an opportunity to arrange matters against him in his absence. Steiner says that when he arrived at Philadelphia, he was met on ship-board by two of the officers of the congregation, who took him and his family to their homes. As Schlatter was out of town, they asked him to preach for them the coming Sunday. They told him of their differences with Schlatter, but he says he counselled them to peace and put them off till after the coetus would meet, October 20.*

* Harbaugh speaks of Steiner's acts as an ungrateful return to Schlatter as his benefactor. We do not defend Steiner's course, as he was acting unconstitutionally in getting into another minister's congregation. But at the same time it was not ingratitude to Schlatter. Schlatter had not brought him over to Pennsylvania, but the Holland deputies had sent him, just as they had before sent Schlatter. The charge of ingratitude to Schlatter falls to the ground, although the charge of unconstitutionality does not.

Meanwhile, before the adjourned coetus met at Philadelphia, Steiner on October 3 wrote to Lancaster that he would come and preach for them on the 15th. Schlatter also wrote to Lancaster, telling them that Steiner would come and asking the consistory to send a horse. To be sure that they would do this, he took the trouble to send a second letter to them, in case the first might be lost. He was evidently anxious to get Steiner away from Philadelphia. He urged them to receive Steiner, giving him an excellent recommendation, and stating that he came properly recommended by the Holland Church and worthy of all confidence. The congregation twice sent a horse for Steiner. The first time his wife was sick, and he did not like to leave her, and when the second came, he himself was sick. Steiner, however, waited until coetus before deciding about the Philadelphia matter. Even at the time of the coetus he expressed a willingness to go to Lancaster.

All this shows that Steiner was not the only one to blame in this matter. He was the creature of circumstances to some extent. It seems very likely, too, that the action of the coetus did not entirely suit him, as it certainly did not suit the Lancaster congregation. The coetus had tried to make him cover too much territory by making him pastor of the Muddy Creek charge, as well as of Lancaster. Against this the Lancaster elders protested. Rieger, as Steiner was absent, tried his hand at the matter, so as to

get a chance to preach again in Lancaster. There was selfish motive, we fear, in Rieger's management of the case. The result was, that by Rieger's manipulating it so that he preached at Lancaster, Steiner had too large a charge, and no one was satisfied. Steiner saw in all this a chance to withdraw without dishonor to himself. It is possible, if the coetus had left the single call to Lancaster for Steiner, he might have gone.

Leaving the action of the coetus, let us watch the actions of the congregation. On October 5 the old consistory took action, dismissing Schlatter as their pastor. This action was signed by Daniel Bouton the leading elder, Hillegass, and even by Steinmetz, the elder who had at first received Schlatter, and with whom he stayed for months after he arrived. The next day a protest was sent to the consistory by more than eighty members of the congregation, who were Schlatter's friends. The consistory then sent a petition to coetus, October 21.

The coetus, as we have seen, decided against the consistory. This action, in favor of Schlatter, was read twice on October 22 before the congregation, and declared them worthy of censure. On the next day, October 23, the consistory made a reply to the coetus. They declared that they were surprised at the action of the coetus, and stated that they would close their pulpit to Schlatter and

appeal from the coetus to the Holland synod.* Later the consistory receded from this appeal to Holland, because they were afraid that Schlatter might have too much influence against them there. On November 17 Schlatter sent a note to the consistory, asking a reply within eight days as to whether they would acknowledge the Holland synod or not, and whether they had appealed, asking for a copy of their charges against him, so that he might know what defence to make. On November 28 Steiner wrote a long letter to the deputies in Holland, giving the reasons for not accepting Lancaster. He says :

1. That coetus had spoiled matters, rather than set them right ; that he had come between the churches of Philadelphia and Lancaster as between water and fire, and finally decided for Philadelphia, because it called him first, and in spite of all opposition persevered in it.

2. That if he had not accepted the congregations at Philadelphia and Germantown, they would have gone down.

He then states the charges made against Schlatter,

* It has been charged that the reason why they went against Schlatter, was because they were opposed to the Holland control,† but now they say they would appeal to Holland. If they were opposed to the jurisdiction of Holland, why would they appeal to them? They had been under the classis of Amsterdam for fifteen years, ever since Bœhm became their pastor in 1734, and now they say they will appeal to the Dutch for a decision in their case. Besides, their selection of Steiner could not have been misconstrued into an opposition to Holland, for he had been sent over by the Holland deputies, and was as much of a predestinarian as Schlatter, as both had to sign the Canons of Dort before the Holland synods would ever send them.

† Dubbs' History of the Reformed Church, page 283.

namely desire to rule, indolence, feebleness in preaching, and dissatisfaction with his salary. Steiner defends the action of the congregation.

During this controversy Schlatter had the sympathy and support of the other members of the coetus. On November 27 Leydich wrote to him, as did Weiss on November 29; Rieger wrote to him in December, as did Bartholomaeus, December 27. Outside of his own denomination, Schlatter had the sympathy of the clergy. Steiner having asked their opinion, received a reply, November 14, from Brunholz and Muhlenberg of the Lutheran Church, and Gilbert Tennant of the Presbyterian, giving decision against his party. Then Steiner replied (November 20), thanking them for their decision, but giving the reasons for his actions. They reply on November 30 to him. On December 12, as the Christmas season was approaching, the consistory notified Schlatter that they would not permit him to celebrate the Lord's Supper in the church. Schlatter refused (December 14) to accept this notice from them. He claimed that their acts were unconstitutional, because he was president of the consistory, had not signed the call for their meeting, and because it was done without the knowledge of himself or of the greater number of the members. (When the vote was taken, it stood 110 for Schlatter to 140 for Steiner.) Schlatter replied that he would lay all the papers before the approaching coetus appointed to meet at Philadelphia

in December, to try his case, and to it he asked them to bring their complaints. On December 16 he notified them that the coetus meeting would not be held on account of the extreme cold weather.* Saur says that Schlatter wanted to resign before the end of the year and preach his farewell sermon on Matt. 23 : 37-39, but he was so sad that he could not explain the passage, and only read Matt. 10 : 14.

As the coetus did not meet to settle the case, Schlatter's friends decided that they must do something, so on December 18 they met and elected a new consistory. The authority was given to the new consistory for Schlatter, with Tennant and Vock as witnesses. The new consistory's first step was to forbid (December 19) Steiner to preach. On January 5 they protest against the call given by the old consistory to Steiner. The old consistory, in its turn, took action, January 5, forbidding Schlatter to preach in the church, as they had installed Steiner. On January 7 Steiner preached his introductory sermon in the church at Germantown. On January 12 Attorney General Francis made overtures to the Schlatter party in the interest of peace, suggesting a compromise that Steiner and Schlatter preach alternate Sundays. The Schlatter party granted it to the Steiner party, as to Steiner as

* The real reason was, the ministers refused to come, Weiss and Leydich especially.

a stranger, but not as pastor. This did not suit the Steiner party, and was not agreed upon.

On January 14 matters came to an open controversy in the church. Steiner was to preach his introductory sermon on that Sunday. But the Schlatter party came first and took possession of the church, when Schlatter ordained and installed his new consistory. (On January 14 Schlatter and his party made a proposition to the others, and on January 20 the Steiner party agree that one should preach in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon, but then the Schlatter party was not willing, January 22.) On January 28 the Steiner party got ahead. They stayed in the church all night, and with a body guard of 24 took possession of the pulpit. Steiner was in the pulpit when the Schlatter party came in. Schlatter requested Steiner to come from the pulpit, which he refused. Confusion reigned for about two hours. The Schlatter party sang the 119th Psalm, so as to prevent Steiner and his party from gaining the church. Schlatter invoked the aid of the magistrate, and he was brought into the church when the Steiner party sang. Then they came to an agreement to give the church keys to the city authorities, until they could come to an amicable adjustment of the matter. The Schlatter party had, January 27, made overtures to leave the matter in the hands of arbitrators, each party giving bonds for adherence to their decision. This was finally accepted by the old con-

sistory. The bond was issued by both parties, February 20, and the matter left to six arbitrators. The Steiner party made a condition, however, that no ministers, judges or lawyers were to be the arbitrators. They were evidently afraid of ministers, as the Lutheran and Presbyterian ministers had already sided against them. This agreement was made before the mayor, Mr. Lawrence; the judge, William Allen, and the alderman, Benjamin Shoemaker. The arbitrators were William Clymer, Thomas Lord, Hugh Robert, John Mifflin, John Smith and Abel James, all of them Quakers, except Clymer, who was an Episcopalian. The old consistory filed their charges against Schlatter. They were :

1. Discipline, deception and falsehood. Schlatter had promised them aid from Holland, a promise which he had not fulfilled.

2. In the Reiff matter he had given them only forty-five pounds, although their church was so terribly in need of the money, and he had ninety pounds still in his hands, which he would not turn over, because he said he had no order from Holland to do so. But that when he found that the church at Germantown was threatening to dismiss him, he secretly promised to give them twenty pounds, and later on fifty pounds, of this money.

3. That although several of the elders had incurred a debt of 400 pounds voluntarily, in order to purchase the ground rent of the lot, he had the title of it made out to the Holland Fathers and to himself.

4. That although he had led the church into great debt, he had given them no assistance.

5. That he lorded over them and was more of a master than a pastor. (They say in a letter that he scolded them, and was incapable and unfit.)

6. Although they paid him twice as much as they had promised him, yet he was never satisfied.

7. That he produced disorder in the congregation.

8. He was so cold and slack in his activity, that many had grown careless. In instructing the youth he had been indolent, and also in visiting the sick and baptizing the children.

The arbitrators met, Clymer being the chairman, and, after three weeks' examination and deliberation, they rendered their decision, March 6, 1750. It is in substance as follows :

As to the charges, they decide :

1. The Holland letters show that Schlatter had a right to give assurance of help to the congregation.

2. That Schlatter did about the Reiff money as ordered. He had submitted his account to the arbitrators, and of the 135 pounds he still had 34. And also he had not attempted to bribe the Germantown congregation with the money.

3. That Schlatter did not pocket any of the alms of the congregation, as had been charged.

4. That he did not get the title to the land in his own name, so as to have it as his own.

5. That he was not dictatorial.

6. That if he found fault with them, it was because the men who now represented the Steiner party urged him to do so.

7. That he did not cause the divisions in the congregation, but that the elders who summoned him, did so.

8. That he was faithful in pastoral work.

As to reports against him at his birthplace, his testimonials were sufficient in reply.

They therefore declared that the charges against Schlatter were false, unfounded and insufficient. Their decision was that the old consistory transfer the church property to the Schlatter consistory and congregation. But they ordered the Schlatter consistory to pay to different parties sums amounting to about 750 pounds. The Schlatter party, which during the interim had been worshiping twice a Sunday in Tennant's Presbyterian church (the Whitefield's church, as it was called), now again took possession of the old church building. Thus Schlatter was completely vindicated. He wrote to the Holland deputies, April 6, giving an account of the trial. Peters, the secretary of state, in writing to the deputies, says: "The cause of the whole trouble was Schlatter's refusal to pay the whole of the Reiff funds to the Philadelphia congregation." Saur in his paper says that at the end of the

trial the Steiner party numbered 170 and the Schlatter 120. The Steiner party, which had been worshiping in a private house, proceeded to build a building, not far from the old church, which should be used for a store as well as for service. They clung to their idea not to engage a minister for more than a year at a time, so that the minister might not become master over them, referring to Matt. 23 : 6-12.

In a later letter, October 16, 1750, Schlatter again defends himself against :

a) The charge of indolence, by referring to his extensive correspondence with Holland (he says that since he had been in Pennsylvania, he had spent only two Sabbaths without preaching.) In four years and two months he had preached 581 times, and traveled in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia 7000 miles, one-third of the earth's circumference.

b) Pride and haughtiness. This he denies.

c) Avarice and luxury. He had received in four and a half years \$580, and had spent \$140 more than he had received. He had been at the expense of entertaining the coetus whenever they had met in Philadelphia, and the longest journey he had undertaken at his own costs. The deputies reply to him, January, 1751, that they are greatly pleased that he has been proved innocent.

So ended the first stage of the Schlatter-Steiner quarrel, but the seeds of strife sown in 1749 keep the coetus embroiled in controversy till 1755, and later.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION VII.

SCHLATTER'S TRIP TO EUROPE (1751-52).

In the spring of 1747 Schlatter had written to the deputies, suggesting that it might be well for him to come back to Holland, so as to interest their Church in Pennsylvania, and also to look up ministers for this western work. But the deputies had refused to grant his request, because they were afraid his work would suffer during his absence. Three years later he unexpectedly takes the trip, unknown to the deputies.

After the coetus of 1749, Schlatter, owing to the unfortunate division in the congregation at Philadelphia, was not able to travel around among the congregations as much as he had done formerly. Nor was it necessary, for the congregations by that time had become sufficiently organized. He still visited the congregations in western New Jersey in June, 1750. He also made church visitations, August 20-25, of congregations in the country, so that he might give information to the coming coetus about them. He also made a journey, November 1-10, 1750. He went (November 1) to Witpen, which he regularly supplied once a month since Böhm's death, and administered the communion to thirty-six members. After the

thanksgiving sermon he went twenty-three miles farther to Falkner Swamp, to visit Leydich, and on the 2nd with him to visit Weiss. Leydich consented to preach for him the next Sunday, so that he could continue his journey. Schlatter then went to Oley, and on the 3rd he arrived at Tulpehocken. In this journey he was at times in danger, because of the wintry weather and overflowing streams. On the 4th he assisted Bartholomaeus in administering the Lord's Supper. Bartholomaeus promised to be present at the coming coetus, if his health would permit. Schlatter then went to Lancaster, where he preached on the 6th, and invited Rieger to attend the coetus, which he promised to do. He preached at three other places on his way home, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 10th. He did not see Lischy on this trip, because the latter had gone, at Schlatter's earnest solicitation, to visit the congregations in Virginia. On November 16 the coetus met at Philadelphia. Of this coetus we have no record, because he seems to have given an account of it orally to the deputies when he arrived in Holland. We find only a reference to the coetus. We know, however, that Weiss, Leydich and Schlatter were present.

On December 13 a special coetus was held at Philadelphia. The outlook for the Church in Pennsylvania was not the most hopeful. Matters had not been progressing since the Steiner controversy. The Holland deputies had not been sending over any more ministers, or

funds or letters. Nor had they given a decision on some of the important matters referred to them. Bartholomaeus was sick and becoming insane. Thus the number of ministers was lessening, while the charges were clamoring for ministers. Of the sixteen charges reported by Schlatter, ten charges, representing thirty-two congregations, were vacant. And of the charges that had ministers, three were supplied only by candidates for the ministry, who could not administer the sacraments. These were Tempelman, DuBois and Lischy, as the deputies had not yet rendered a decision on their cases. Only twelve congregations had regular ministers, and these at best only once a Sunday, and some of them barely once a month. On the other hand, although the Moravian movement had spent its force, yet independent Reformed ministers were springing up, some of them with, but more of them without, ordination, and leading the congregations astray. In view of the unsatisfactory state of affairs, the special coetus (at which Weiss, however, was not present) decided that one of their number should go to Europe and lay their case before the Holland deputies. To this mission Schlatter was appointed. He lost no time in getting ready, although it was winter, when the passage across the ocean was dangerous. On December 25 he administered the communion to his Philadelphia congregation for the last time. His passport was given him by the governor, James Hamilton, January 29. He sailed from Newcastle,

Delaware, February 5, 1751. He arrived at Dartmouth, March 11 ; at Bristol, March 15, and at London, March 22. He left London, March 31, and arrived at Helvoetsluys, in Holland, April 12.

Schlatter appeared before the deputies at the Hague, May 3. He delivered to them his journal and other papers. He reported the results of his labors, and also the condition of the Church. He also stated that he had organized the churches, also a coetus, and made church visitation. He made a report, that in order to supply the deficiency in salaries of pastors and school-masters, \$800 a year would be necessary. He said the congregations were unable to make up traveling expenses to bring ministers across the ocean to them. He also reported what he had done with the Bibles sent over ; and with the Reiff money, that he had on hand thirty-four pounds and six shillings, and had given the rest away at the orders of the deputies. He also presented a paper giving reasons why, at the request of the coetus, he was present with them in Holland, and also asked to be allowed to resign his commission. He gives as a reason for this the precarious state of the Church and the inability of six ministers to care for 30,000 souls. He also suggests that a fund ought to be raised to make up for this deficiency of salaries in Pennsylvania. He asked of them three things :

1. A donation of money to cover his traveling expenses to Switzerland.
2. A testimonial of his conduct in Pennsylvania.

3. An action clearing him in his controversy with Steiner.

The deputies were very much pleased with his report. They voted him \$20.00 for his traveling expenses, and gave him the testimonials he asked for. He did not, however, at once proceed to Switzerland, and when asked at the next meeting of the deputies why he had not gone, he replied it was owing to lack of money. It looked as if Schlatter might leave the service of the Pennsylvania churches, but circumstances ordered it otherwise.

From the deputies he went to Amsterdam, and appeared before the classis there. Here renewed interest arose. The classis expressed itself as satisfied with his exoneration in the Steiner controversy, and became so much interested in his account of Pennsylvania that they asked him to prepare an Appeal,* which could be printed and placed in the hands of the classes and synods, in order to see if better means could not be devised to aid the thousands of souls famishing there. The classis decided to print this. A liberal member, J. Loveringh, a deacon and bookseller, published it at his own expense, none to be sold but those signed by himself, so that no attempt might be made by others to make money out of the transaction.

The diary of Schlatter, which composes the main part

* This Appeal was afterwards translated into German and published by Fresenius, but although Rev. Mr. Thomson, of the English Reformed church of Amsterdam, was ordered to prepare an English translation of it, we have not yet found a copy of it.

of the volume, had a preface by the classis, dated June 28, after which comes an introduction by Schlatter, and then his diary from June 1, 1746, to his return to Holland in 1751. This is followed by a description of the religious destitution of Pennsylvania and the adjoining provinces, in which he describes the Indians, the number of his congregations, and on the basis of this he makes an earnest appeal, which is followed by a special appeal in behalf of the Indians, in which he refers to the work of Brainard and Eliot among them. A few closing words, which are dated June 25, end the book. In this Appeal he suggests the idea that an effort be made to get the states general of Holland (the congress) to do something to supply these destitute Germans with the gospel. Schlatter did not start off to Switzerland as soon as he expected, partly because of lack of money, and partly because the classis, which had already done so much, desired him to wait until after the synods met in the summer.

We next find Schlatter at the synod of South Holland, at Leerdam, where there was given each member a copy of his printed Appeal. The synod expressed itself pleased with his work, and exonerated him in the case of the Steiner quarrel. The synod ordered that Lischy be installed at York, Marinus, DuBois and Tempelman examined and ordained in the name of the synod of South Holland. These were the cases that had been hanging fire for so long a time. Schlatter reported that five or six

additional ministers were needed for Pennsylvania. They requested Schlatter to go to Switzerland to obtain the ministers required, and determined, with the synod of North Holland, to approach the Prince of Orange and the Lord Pensionary, so that the matter might be brought before the states of Holland and West Friesland, so as to get financial aid. Schlatter then went to the North Holland synod, which met at Edam, from which he writes a letter, August 3. The North Holland synod took very much the same action as the South Holland, expressing itself satisfied with Schlatter's work, and joining with South Holland in approaching the states of Holland and Friesland for money toward Pennsylvania.

And now we come to one of the most interesting episodes in the early history of our Church, and one on which most important results depended, namely the gift by the states of Holland and West Friesland to the Pennsylvania churches. For it was without doubt the money that the political government gave to the Pennsylvania churches for years that laid the foundation of our Church. Such a gift was not a new thing to those states. Holland had given the very amount desired, 800 dollars, to Goetschi in 1735. That was gotten by him through the Pensionary. If now the same policy be pursued, it would probably produce the same results. Let us watch the proceedings. On August 24 an extra session of the deputies was called to hasten matters before the states. It was

called because it was learned that the Prince of Orange intended to depart the latter part of the month from the Hague to Aix la Chapelle for the waters, and also that the states general of Holland and West Friesland was about to adjourn. The deputies then went to the political commissioners of the synods. (In each synod there were political commissioners, appointed by the state as the representatives of the state in its sessions.) They now went to the political commissioners in their own synods in order to get advice in what way to secure the fund for Pennsylvania. As they consulted with them, the matter became clearer. Especially did the president, van Klees, advise them well. They had two propositions to make to the states general, either of which might be accepted. One was to get them to grant permission to hold a general collection for Pennsylvania throughout all Holland, or to give a sum of 2000 gulden for some years. Van Klees said he thought the former was not feasible, as it would not succeed, so they decided on the latter. The matter now becomes so interesting that we will give the minutes of the deputies :

“Whereupon, on August 25, the deputies waited on the Pensionary, and after wishing him God’s most precious blessing, they laid before him the two plans, and asked his advice. Whereupon his Excellency,* after a similar wish

* This pensionary, or attorney general was Peter Steyn. He gained this position, July 21, 1749, after having been burgomaster of Haarlem. He was the constant friend of the Pennsylvania churches.

in reply to us, was pleased to answer that very serious objections might be made to asking for permission for the taking of a general collection for Pennsylvania, and hence could not advise that request. But that he would take into consideration further the petitioning for a liberal Christian donation from the States General by the deputies. He would make known his opinion on that subject at the proper time to the deputies, and would put forth his good offices for the furthering of our petition. Hereupon the deputies took their leave from his Excellency with thanks. Since Mr. Pensionary, before giving the above favorable answer, had among other things asked us how the deputies came to intercede for Reformed people in an English colony, and we had concisely replied, so far as the opportunity of the time allowed, the deputies now asked Clerk Hoedemaker, in order to advance our petition, to go and wait upon his Excellency with Rev. Mr. Schlatter at his country seat, and give his Excellency full and circumstantial information about the condition of the Pennsylvania Church, and how those churches came under the charitable care of the synods, and add thereto some short Christian notes and extracts from synodical resolution. Deputy Hoedemaker agreed to this, and immediately after the adjournment of the session asked an appointment with his Excellency for the afternoon of August 26. He then carried out his commission as far as the Christian notes were concerned, but as his Excellency could not be seen that afternoon on account of a previous engagement, Hoedemaker recommended them to the Pensionary's sick wife."

So it was not till August 27 that deputy Hoedemaker

and Schlatter were able to personally give him extended verbal information. The Acts of the deputies give the following report :

“Whereupon the Pensionary invited to dinner at his house on the afternoon of August 27 Clerk Hoedemaker and Rev. Mr. Schlatter, made known to them that his Excellency had on that morning taken with him the aforesaid memoranda, and after previous communication of it to his Highness,* who was also present at the meeting of the states. He had introduced the request made by the deputies of his Excellency on August 25, into the session of the Lord's states of Holland and West Friesland on August 27, and it was immediately granted full favorably for the period of five years.”

Thus the request for \$800 was granted on Friday, August 27, and 2000 gulden (\$800) was ordered to be given for five years. It was hoped that this would put the work in Pennsylvania on such a firm basis that no more money would be needed. (The old story of the 100,000 dollars collected and invested for the Pennsylvania churches is a myth.) This grant by the States General on August 27, 1751, was followed by another, November 30, 1756, to give \$800 a year for three years more. On November 29, 1759, a grant of \$600 a year was made for

* William IV., Prince of Orange, of the line of Nassau, whose line expired with the childless William III, King of England. The principality of Orange then passed over to a collateral line, of which the present Queen of Holland is the last descendant. Of this prince Peter Steyn was a special favorite, and he shows it in this present instance. William went to Aix la Chapelle, September 3, 1751. He came back to the Hague, and died there, October 22, 1751, two months later than this interview.

two years, and on December 5, 1761, a last grant of \$400 a year was made for two years more, making a total of \$8400 given in twelve years by the states. In their grant the states say that it must be applied for the support of ministers and school-masters, and also for the purchase of Bibles, New Testaments, Psalm books, and other books serving for the instruction and comfort of the brethren in the Lord in Pennsylvania. For all this the deputies thanked them, especially Pensionary Steyn, who was mainly instrumental in the success of the scheme.

This action of the States General put the work on a permanent basis. Schlatter was at once sent to Germany and Switzerland to get ministers. The deputies gave him 220 dollars for traveling expenses in Holland and Germany. They gave him a letter of introduction, and instructions to raise funds for the Pennsylvania work, and also ordered him to seek six ministers, offering them a salary of \$180 a year, for which the donations of the states were a guarantee for the first five years.

Schlatter started on his journey. He went to Herborn, where he was received with great kindness by professors Arnoldi, Schramm and Rau, and then through Frankford and Hanau to Heidelberg. There he handed his instructions to the consistory of the Palatinate, who received him very kindly. He says he had a friendly conversation with the consistory, and they decided to send to Pennsylvania a pastoral letter. He arrived at St. Gall,

October 20. He at first wrote encouragingly about getting ministers to go to Pennsylvania, saying that he had met several able candidates, but he afterwards reported from St. Gall (December 1), saying that of the candidates in Germany who had seemed inclined to go to Pennsylvania, the most had drawn back, and that scarcely any one could be secured at St. Gall, because Switzerland herself was in need of ministers. Still, one of the ministers at St. Gall, Fels, had given him \$3.78, the first fruit of the collection for Pennsylvania. And Professor Wegelin, of St. Gall, wrote (December 30) that Schlatter had done everything to get candidates from there. On October 27 he went from St. Gall to Zurich, and Zurich gave him ten ducats for Pennsylvania. He returned to St. Gall, where he remained till about December 19. The cantons of St. Gall, Basle and Zurich did not give him or his work any official recommendation, but referred it to the coming meeting of the German Protestant cantons at Frauenfeld in the summer. However St. Gall promised to recommend it favorably.

He began returning to Heidelberg by way of Basle, and was at Heidelberg, January 21, where the Palatinate consistory gave him, February 4, the pastoral letter to the Germans of Pennsylvania that they had promised, in which they praise the generous efforts of the Dutch in caring for their children in Pennsylvania; and they also speak in commendation of Schlatter's work, expressing

their paternal affection to their children in Pennsylvania, and urging them to remain true to the Reformed faith of their fathers. But they did not dare order a collection among the churches, because their own revenues had become so greatly reduced. Still, to show their interest in the work in Pennsylvania, they gave a donation of about \$120. This money was ordered by the Holland deputies to be spent for German Bibles, to be distributed among the Pennsylvania Germans. Schlatter did not find any candidates for Pennsylvania at Heidelberg. His journey so far was comparatively fruitless in gaining ministers, although it stirred up interest in the cause. Only one place remained from which candidates might be gotten, namely Herborn. If that place did not respond, then Pennsylvania must do without ministers.

He started for Herborn by way of Frankford. At Frankford he was fortunate in two ways. He succeeded in interesting the German Reformed Church there, so that they gave quite a liberal donation. Hilgenbach, Ritner and Poertner, the pastors, gave him \$24 then, and Poertner sent him later \$285.88. But perhaps more important was the other, the friendly efforts of Dr. Fresenius, the leading Lutheran minister of Frankford. He had been publishing pamphlets on the Lutheran and Moravian Churches in America. He now expressed himself willing to publish Schlatter's account of the Reformed churches in Pennsylvania, as given by his diary. Schlatter therefore

added to the Dutch edition of the Appeal a commendatory address to the Swiss confederacy, and also a preface. The first was written at Frankford, February 6, and the latter, February 7. The publication of his Appeal in German gave the cause of the Pennsylvania churches an impulse in Germany and led to the coming of some ministers.

But it was Herborn that providentially saved the Pennsylvania cause. We have seen its previous friendliness, how in 1746 it almost snatched from Schlatter the honor of organizing the Pennsylvania churches, which, but for a delay by the Holland deputies, would probably have taken place. The university of Herborn at that time had most excellent, pious and intellectually strong men in its professorships. Its spirit doctrinally was Calvinism, the practical predestinarianism of Lampe, whose dogmatics was used as a text book. But its professors were also Pietistic (that is, the churchly pietism of the Reformed of Germany). It is noticeable that just as the pietistic university of the Lutheran Church at Halle, Germany, sent Muhlenberg to organize the Lutheran Church, so the pietistic Reformed university of Herborn led to the establishment of the German Reformed, in America on a permanent basis. The university was small, not even a university, only a German high school, yet it had three good professors. Professor Valentine Arnoldi, professor of dogmatics, at whose house Schlatter stayed two weeks, was a man of rare scholarship and lovely character, following in the

footsteps of the Dutch theologians Vitranga and Lampe. He recommended his students to read the Pietistic work, Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul." Professor Henry Schramm taught practical theology and was an apostle of active, aggressive Christianity. Professor John Eberhard Rau was a celebrated Orientalist. They gave Schlatter all the encouragement they could.

In their record book, dated Feb. 25, 1752, Schramm made this entry: "Rev. Mr. Schlatter handed me a list of the candidates he desires to take along with him to Pennsylvania, and prays that we give them a general academical testimonial. Shall they have such?" Professor Rau answers: "Yes, I hope that there is none who would not rather see, with gladness, that ministers desire such a recommendation, and are advanced to work in a foreign land, rather than in their home country." This is the first speech for foreign missions among the German Reformed in Pennsylvania, whose words have come down to us, for Pennsylvania was then a foreign land.*

As a result of Schlatter's own personal efforts, seconded by the entire faculty of Herborn, he secured six young men to go to Pennsylvania. He thus describes

* If the Germans and the Dutch could thus send money and ministers to us in this foreign land, how much more should we in return send and pass on the gospel to other lands still farther west, as Japan, where the foreign mission of our Church is located. If they had refused to help our forefathers, how lamentable would be our condition as a Church? Can we then withhold our gospel and gifts to other foreign lands, lest the same direful consequences come to them?

them to the deputies: "1. Otterbein quiet and pious. 2. Waldschmidt honest and sincere. 3. Hensepeter resolute and seeking the good. 4. Stoy intelligent and kind-hearted. 5. Frankenfeld taciturn and willing. 6. Wissler greatly gifted and generous." Professor Arnoldi calls them the flower of the young ministers of the Reformed Church of that county of Nassau. It is not often that a Church will give up its best blood for a foreign land, but this university gave them excellent testimonials to the deputies, as did the state government at Dillenburg.

Schlatter then set out with these young men, except Hensepeter, who, at the earnest entreaties of his mother, finally decided not to go to America. He was also accompanied from Frankford by his cousin, Christopher Schlatter, of St. Gall. He went from Herborn to Holland, by way of Dillenburg. He appeared before the Holland deputies at their spring meeting, March 6-15, 1752, with his five young men. They were there examined by the deputies. As Otterbein and Wissler had already been ordained, the deputies gave a special theological examination to the others, examining them in languages on Genesis 1, Psalm 1, John 1 and Acts 7, and also in doctrinal theology, the examination being conducted in Latin, as they could not speak Dutch. In this examination Stoy excelled, and Waldschmidt and Frankenfeld passed well. They then subscribed to the Dutch creeds (the Heidelberg

Catechism and the Canons of Dort). On March 14 they were all set apart with solemn services for the work in Pennsylvania.

Hensepeter's place was now filled by another, John Casper Rubel, a candidate from the county of Berg, who appeared at the coetus while it was in session. He was examined at an extra coetus, April 5, as the vessel to take Schlatter and the young ministers was to sail on April 15 for New York. Rubel was examined in the languages on Psalm 118 : 1-26 and Matthew 28, and on the important doctrines of theology. The deputies, being satisfied with the examination, ordained him for the work in Pennsylvania, after he had subscribed the Dutch creeds. The deputies gave to Schlatter their instructions for the Pennsylvania coetus. They declare that they expect yearly reports from the Pennsylvania churches, such as they were receiving from the churches they supported in other parts of the world. These were to be sent to them by a member of the coetus chosen for that purpose, written either in the Dutch or Latin language. Schlatter also asked of the deputies that he might have permission to remain pastor of the Philadelphia congregation. The deputies gave him such permission, and also gave him a secret letter, not to be used except in case of trouble. This letter ordered him to depose his enemies in Pennsylvania. It also demanded of Steiner \$80, which had been paid as his traveling expense to America. If he did not refund that money,

they would demand of the magistrates to make him restore it. Schlatter does not seem to have used this letter, for the Philadelphia congregation did not give him a chance to become their pastor again after he returned to Pennsylvania. (During all this time he never mentioned to the deputies that he had given a release to the Philadelphia congregation before he sailed to Europe, agreeing that he would not force himself upon them as their pastor when he returned. This request of his, to be assigned again to Philadelphia, seems to have been a violation of that release.) The deputies, when they later (March 3, 1753) hear of this release, were very much surprised at it, and wondered why he had not told them of it while in Holland.

After Schlatter's departure with his six young ministers, the deputies continued their work of trying to raise funds for the Pennsylvania churches. Hoedemaker wrote to the Antistes Wirtz, of Zurich, May 3, 1752, stating how they had sent Schlatter, and that the Palatinate had given about \$120. He says that the cost of sending Schlatter and the six young ministers was \$1600, and requested the Swiss Diet either to ask a free-will offering the next summer, or to do as the Dutch States General had done—give so much money each year. To this letter Wirtz replied (September 23, 1752), stating that the Swiss, for political reasons, would not give anything, because the emigrants have treated the decrees of the cantons with contempt by going to America. Such an act would be contrary to all

precedent, and might be construed as an approval of their going.

Meanwhile, in America the Reformed had not been idle, although matters had been quiet in Schlatter's absence. The coetus of 1751 had been held on September 12. Leydich, Lischy and Weiss seem to have been the only ministers acting together, Weiss not joining very earnestly with them, for he was charged with having been influenced by Steiner. Rieger seems to have left the coetus, because Schlatter and he had a controversy. From a hint given somewhere, we are suspicious that it was because of Rieger's want of submission to the Canons of Dort on predestination. For when the strong action of the Classis of Amsterdam on the matter came to Pennsylvania, Schlatter, as the representative of the Dutch and of high Calvinism, made the action known to Rieger, whereat they had words, and Rieger went off angry. Those who remained in the coetus, Leydich, Lischy and Weiss, called themselves the united Reformed ministers, over against the independent Reformed ministers, as Steiner and Rieger, and others. At the suggestion of Lischy, a circular letter had been drawn up, published,* and signed by Leydich, Lischy and Weiss. The two former drew it up, but Weiss approved of it and circulated it in his congregations. In it they urged the forty-one Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland to pray for the safe

* It was written and published between February 2 and March 16.

arrival of Schlatter and the six ministers who were coming with him. This circular was distributed widely among the Reformed congregations. These three Reformed ministers also inserted in Saur's paper, March 7, a notice that all German congregations in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were, for the sake of their comfort and joy, informed that the Reformed Church of the Netherlands and other lands had taken them under their care. Further information could be obtained of the Reformed ministers of Pennsylvania. It was signed by Weiss, Leydich and Lischy, and was published in the newspaper three times in succession.

Meanwhile Schlatter and his party left Amsterdam, April 26, 1752, and had arrived at New Castle, May 12. They left there after June 7, and arrived at New York, July 27. When they arrived at New York, they were presented to Muhlenberg. He gave them Scriptural advice: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." When they arrived at Philadelphia, it happened to be Weiss' turn to supply the pulpit of the Philadelphia congregation. He remained over the next day (Monday) at Philadelphia, when Leydich and Lischy joined them, and they held a special coetus, without, however, having elders present. (This absence of elders proved to be the entering wedge of trouble, as we shall see.) Schlatter made known to them the instructions of the deputies. They in turn reported the condition of the

Pennsylvania congregations during his absence. He placed in the hands of each of them the St. Gall church order, a brief theological treatise, "The Warning Against the Moravians," by the classis of Amsterdam, "The Anatomy of the Moravians," by Kulenkamp, containing Lischy's first defence, and also a copy of his Appeal for the Pennsylvania churches. This special coetus adjourned to meet at Lancaster, October 25. As the Philadelphia congregation was getting into an uproar and appealed to them, they asked it to wait until the regular coetus would be held at Lancaster before it came to any decision about calling a pastor. Schlatter at this coetus reported that he thought that Otterbein ought to go to Lancaster, Stoy to Cocalico, Waldschmidt to remain in Philadelphia with him, Rubel to Tulpehocken, Wissler to Egypt and Frankenfild to Monocacy. Waldschmidt was of a mild disposition, and could have gotten along very well as Schlatter's assistant, except that he did not afterwards reveal the intellectual qualities such as would be necessary to build up the Philadelphia congregation. Schlatter's action in this regard is the opposite to the release he had given to the consistory when he left for Europe. All the ministers agreed to this assignment without any opposition, except Rubel, who, upon the arrival of Schlatter's party at Philadelphia, had left the party and gone to a hotel. This plan of Schlatter was somewhat changed, as we shall see, by the rupture of the Philadelphia church, of which we shall speak in the next section.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION VIII.

THE RUBEL CONTROVERSY.

Mr. Schlatter had hardly arrived from Europe when the elements of discord began to show themselves again. During his absence Steiner had resigned his congregation in Philadelphia, November 6, 1751, and gone to Germantown. The Germantown congregation was at that time afraid they too might lose him, but to their joy he came to remain with them, and gave them all his time. But on account of their poverty he had to teach school so as to get more money for living expenses and enlarge his meagre salary, which was the smaller as he was no recipient of the Holland donations since he had left the coetus. When he heard of Schlatter's arrival he went back to Philadelphia and preached to his former congregation, August 3, perhaps because he wanted to influence his adherents there in regard to Schlatter.

During Schlatter's absence the old congregation had also been endeavoring to do something to bring about a union of the Schlatter and Steiner elements. On March 3, 1752 they appeal to the coetus to do something, as Schlatter had given them a release before Leydich and Lischy, and agreed by his own hand before he left for

Europe, and they were free now to act as seemed wisest for their interests. And as Steiner had also left, they feel that the time had come for some effort to unite them. Leydich says that the school-master of the old congregation on May 24 prepared a document for uniting the Schlatter and the Steiner parties. Steiner's congregation had been without a pastor for four months. So six from each party met and made an agreement, July 12, which was also signed by eighty-eight names. They united in the plan that it would be to the interest of peace to call an entirely new man. To do this they would choose from among the six ministers who were coming. Thus it was hoped the Steiner faction would be brought back to the church. As soon therefore as the new ministers arrived, the congregation had each of them preach, one after the other, Frankenfild preaching last. They chose Rubel. This was not, however, to the minds of the Reformed ministers. For Weiss and Leydich had been made acquainted with the situation as soon as Schlatter arrived. They decided that no action should be taken until the coetus met. All this was a bitter disappointment to Schlatter. Rubel had already shown an independent spirit, even while on ship-board. He was just the one of the six young men most apt to act independently of Schlatter. And so the old dissension in Philadelphia was again revived.

Rubel at the request of his consistory began (August 19) quite a correspondence with Lischy about his troubles,

He wrote to him asking him how to appoint delegates to the next coetus, and how to supply them with proper credentials, for he said he and his congregation had no desire to cease being subject to the Holland deputies. Lischy replied to this letter quite severely. He took especial exception to the phrase used by Rubel in his letter, that his congregation would be true to the Holland fathers "as far as they were Christian," thus giving the inference that some of their regulations might not be Christian. Lischy said he would refer Rubel's letter to the coming coetus. Rubel also wrote to Holland to Rev. Mr. Kessler defending his actions.

Weiss, too, seemed greatly exercised about the state of affairs. He wrote to Holland, October 14, enclosing a draft of a church constitution having some very excellent points about it. It gave greater liberty to the congregation over against the central authority in the coetus. It recognized the Heidelberg Catechism, the Canons of Dort and the authority of Holland, and thus revealed Weiss' theological ideas in regard to predestination and church constitution. His constitution was, however, not adopted by the deputies. The Bœhm constitution, which had been adopted by the coetus of 1748, was found to be inadequate, because it was originally intended only for a congregation, and had originally no reference to a synod. It never was adopted by the Holland Church, and gradually fell into disuse. Weiss' constitution is clearer and

simpler than Bœhm's, and better intended for a synod. The Holland authorities replied to Weiss that they knew no better Church constitution than that of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. And this thus became the authoritative guide of the Pennsylvania coetus. Leydich also showed great anxiety about the state of affairs. In a letter to Lischy (September 2) as to the coming coetus he tells how anxious he is to know whether elders would be admitted or excluded from coetus. He wanted them to be present. Schlatter was opposed to admitting elders, and in his defence quoted a letter from deputy Hoedemaker, which said that coetus should consist only of ministers. This Hoedemaker said was the custom in Germany. (But such was not the custom in Holland, as Schlatter soon found out from the deputies.) Hoedemaker, however, died before it could be found out what he had said.

The coetus met at Lancaster, October 18, 1752. It opened auspiciously. First of all Rieger, who had been invited to the coetus by Weiss and Leydich, was, after apologising to Schlatter, reconciled to him, and promised again to live and believe according to the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort. The first business of the coetus was the subscription to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort. All signed, even Rieger, who had protested at the coetus of 1748. The coetus not only included the former members, Weiss,

Schlatter, Rieger and Leydich, but also five of the young men from Europe, Stoy, Otterbein, Wissler, Frankenfeld and Waldschmidt. To these were added Lischy and also Du Bois and Tempelman, the last two candidates for the ministry. Du Bois and Tempelman were ordained during the sessions of the coetus on October 21. Weiss, as the oldest minister, acted as president at the opening session. At the election of officers Schlatter was unanimously elected president, Weiss vice president and Leydich clerk. Leydich, however, declined the position, giving as a reason that he could not sit long enough. (This was probably only a feint, for he was dissatisfied that no elders were allowed to take part in the coetus.) So Stoy was chosen clerk. Rubel appeared with two of his members from Philadelphia and caused an uproar. He openly objected to the election of Schlatter as president, as he was not the pastor of any charge, and therefore had no rights in the coetus. When this question came up for decision, the coetus decided against Rubel to sustain Schlatter. But the vote was not unanimous, for Weiss immediately left the coetus, together with his elder, followed by Leydich and Wissler, together with their elders.

It seems that another difficulty had come up in addition to the one about the rights of the elders in the coetus, namely the supremacy of Schlatter. Rubel in a letter to Lischy voiced the fear that Schlatter had been given an authority like that of a superintendent over the other min-

isters, and had the right to appoint pastors as he willed. Rubel says that Mr. Schleydorn, Schlatter's father-in-law, had told him so. If this was true, it was only a little gossip. There was no word of truth in it. The Holland deputies never gave any special authority to Schlatter to be superintendent or to have any authority above his brethren. These two questions, the rights of the elders in voting in the coetus and the supreme authority of Schlatter, divided the coetus, as four of the ministers and their elders, Weiss, Rubel, Wissler and Leydich, went away. The rest, the majority, however remained and held the coetus. It was by far the largest coetus yet held, in spite of the loss of those just named. Quite a number of elders were present, but were allowed no vote.

On Thursday, the 19th, Schlatter opened the coetus with a sermon on Haggai 1 : 14. First the instructions of the Holland deputies were read. Schlatter described the great benevolence of the Holland fathers. He reported that the Holland synods had sent 800 unbound Bibles and also 500 folio Bibles, printed at Basle in 1747, one of which should be placed on the pulpit of each church belonging to the coetus. A vote of thanks was passed to the Holland synods, the classis and consistory of Amsterdam, the Evangelical Assembly of Switzerland and the upper consistory of the Palatinate for their interest and donations. Complaint was brought in against Lischy by some of his congregation at York, and a committee of two

ministers was appointed to visit them. Steiner wrote a letter to the coetus containing complaints against Schlatter, but the coetus promptly decided that the Steiner-Schlatter controversy had been closed, and they would not reopen it. Rieger was appointed to answer Steiner's letter. A letter from thirty members of the congregation at Philadelphia was read, asking for religious services, as they would have nothing to do with Rubel. Coetus asked them to wait until spring. The coetus lasted six days and closed with a thanksgiving sermon by Waldschmidt, Tuesday, October 4.

But they did not wait until spring to decide on the request from Philadelphia. After the coetus Schlatter took the trouble to visit Weiss and Leydich, and asked them to subscribe to the coetus' minutes, but they refused. It was then decided to hold an extra coetus. A special meeting of the coetus was held, December 12, at Schlatter's house in Philadelphia, to act on this matter. It decided that Schlatter should begin at once to hold services in Philadelphia. The two Presbyterian ministers offered him their churches. Stoy and Rieger preached the opening sermons. Schlatter continued these services, holding them in the English Academy (a building originally built for Whitefield), but his congregations were small. He also supplied the small congregation at Witpen, left vacant by Bœhm. He was thus true to his promise to Bœhm, that that congregation should not be

forsaken after his death. He also supplied the congregation at Amwell, New Jersey.

The next coetus Schlatter intended holding at Reading in April, 1753, and he invited Weiss, Rubel, Steiner, Leydich and Wissler to it. It was, however, held at Lancaster, instead of Reading, because some of the ministers preferred it. Schlatter suggested that they elect another president, but they insisted on his election. The main business of this meeting was the apportionment of the Holland donations of \$1009.20. The coetus left \$144 in the hands of Schlatter, to be divided among Weiss, Leydich and Wissler, who were absent from the meeting. Schlatter had had printed at his own expense 1000 A B C books. He was ordered to publish a small catechism for the youth. Weiss and Leydich signed the coetus' acts on May 29, 1753, in the presence of DuBois, when Schlatter gave them a share in the donations, amounting to \$48 each. They had signed the coetus' acts of 1752 on May 1, 1753. On December 3, 1752, Rubel wrote an appeal to the deputies, stating that he and his congregation would be satisfied with their decision.

After the special coetus two events occurred to still further widen the breach between the Weiss and the Schlatter parties. One was that a letter was received from Holland, ordering that none of the Holland donations should be paid out to any one who had left the coetus. A few days after receiving it, Leydich came to Philadelphia

and claimed that he ought to have received \$46.80 more than he had received. Schlatter, on the authority of the message from Holland, refused to pay it, as Leydich had left the coetus.

Another event also occurred, which was unfortunate at that time. One of the Holland letters addressed to Leydich, that passed through Schlatter's hands, happened to have been opened. Leydich decided that Schlatter had opened the letter. He became suspicious of a new usurpation on the part of Schlatter. This letter, Leydich claimed, gave him authority to call a coetus meeting, in spite of Schlatter. So it became a question which party was legally the coetus. Weiss and he arranged for a special meeting of the coetus at Goshenhoppen on Monday, September 10. Schlatter went to it and was surprised to find there only Weiss, Leydich, Rubel and Waldschmidt. When Schlatter asked where DuBois was, Leydich said that they had forgotten to notify him. Steiner and Rubel came each with two elders and twenty-four strange elders or farmers. Schlatter then charged Weiss with issuing the notice of the meeting too late for his friends, who lived at a great distance to get to it in time. Thus the meeting was made up mainly of Schlatter's enemies, while his friends had not yet arrived. Rubel began severely attacking Schlatter. Schlatter at once protested against the meeting of the coetus as being irregular for a number of reasons :

1. A majority of the coetus was not present, there being only five ministers in attendance.

2. It was contrary to all classical or synodical order, as there were more elders present than ministers, who had a vote in its session.

3. Several of the ministers present who did not regularly belong to the coetus, namely Rubel and Steiner, were allowed to take part as members.

He also gave other reasons why this could not be a regular meeting of a coetus, as there was no prayer at its beginning, nor was there a sermon preached, as was customary ; no president or secretary was chosen, nor were any credentials asked for ; there was no business done, except the reading of the letter from the deputies to Leydich. After Schlatter had stayed two or three hours, he, together with Stoy, started for home, but before leaving he arranged with Stoy, Frankenfeld, Tempelman and Wissler (the latter arriving just as he left) to hold the annual coetus at the usual time at Lancaster, September 25. They asked Leydich for his letter from Holland, so that they might communicate it to the absent members, Rieger, Lischy, Otterbein and DuBois, but he refused to give it.

After Schlatter left, the Weiss party organized. They elected Weiss president and appointed a meeting of coetus at Cocalico, ten miles from Lancaster, two weeks from that date, and before Schlatter's coetus would convene at Lancaster. As a result there was considerable corre-

spondence, which caused that neither coetus was held at the date named, but later. Schlatter invited Weiss and Leydich to come to Lancaster, September 25. Otterbein wrote to Weiss that in order to prevent schism, they were willing to go to Cocalico, but under the following conditions: 1. That it be more orderly than the coetus at Goshenhoppen. 2. That Weiss be not regarded as president. 3. That Rubel and so many elders be not admitted. 4. That the ministers should become united beforehand. But since it appeared from a letter from Weiss and others that these conditions would not be complied with, the negotiations belated the meeting, so that it could not be held until October 9.

When the Schlatter party gathered at Lancaster, October 9, a deputation, consisting of Lischy, Otterbein and Stoy, together with two calm elders, were sent to Cocalico, where the other coetus was meeting, to invite them to come to Lancaster. This committee went there, but reported that they were treated coldly. So they returned, reporting that Rubel and thirty or more elders made so much of an uproar that they could not speak to any minister in private. They reported that Weiss, Steiner and Rubel were present with a number of elders. After the return of this deputation, it was discussed whether they should adjourn to Cocalico, but it was unanimously decided not to go. So they held their own meeting at Lancaster.

Thus the coetus was split into two very nearly equal

parts. The Schlatter party assembled in regular coetus at Lancaster, October 9. Rieger was made president and Otterbein clerk. Its minutes are filled with complaints to the Holland deputies against Weiss, Leydich, Waldschmidt, Wissler and Frankenfeld, the other party. They decided to lay the whole matter clearly before the Church in Holland. They speak of the mischief that the Holland letter to Leydich has done. For the other party claim that in it they have orders from Holland which the Schlatter party do not have, and therefore they, and not Schlatter; are recognized by Holland. The climax of the session came when Schlatter asked to be dismissed from the coetus, because of the criticisms by the deputies on his work. This was very reluctantly granted, as they feared the consequences of his dismissal on the coetus and the Pennsylvania Church in general. Schlatter also asked to be relieved of receiving the Holland donations. Having dismissed Schlatter, they pass laudatory resolutions about him and exonerate him from all charges. They ask the privilege of excluding elders from the coetus' meetings, because of the expense it causes the coetus, and also because the elders hear things in coetus that they carry back to the congregations, and thus cause trouble, especially if there be a case of discipline of a minister. They agree to submit to whatever decision the Holland deputies may make in the matter, and in the meantime no coetus shall be held.

Meanwhile the rival coetus was held at Cocalico, October 10-12. Weiss, the president, preached the opening sermon on 1 Peter 2 : 5. Rubel says in a letter that the ministers present were Weiss, Leydich, Steiner, Waldschmidt, Frankenfeld, Wissler, Tempelman and Rubel, but there must be some mistake. Tempelman was at the other coetus, and the minutes are signed by only Weiss, Leydich, Waldschmidt and Wissler. Deputies' acts, March 19, 1754, speak of all present but Tempelman. Still Rubel may be right. If so it is a formidable coetus against Schlatter, for it had more than a majority of the Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania. The first business was the hearing of reports from the congregation at Philadelphia. Germantown requested to be received into the coetus. It ordered \$80 of the Reiff money in the hands of Schlatter to be divided between Germantown and Skip-pack congregations. Steiner was appointed to preach at Providence alternately with Leydich, so that they might have a service every two weeks. Leydich and Steiner were also appointed to supply the congregations across the Schuylkill (Chester county). Waldschmidt was ordered to supply Reyer's congregation and White Oaks. Frederick Casimir Miller asked to be admitted to the coetus. It is to the credit of the coetus that it did yet acquiesce in this request, because of the offensiveness of his conduct, and that they refused unanimously. Lischy's opponents at York appealed to this coetus, thinking that as Schlatter,

who had always shielded Lischy, had no control here, they might gain redress. The coetus acted favorably on their petition, and ordered Tempelman and Waldschmidt to go to York and moderate an election. (Spangler, the complainant, says that they went to York and conducted an election, October 17. Frankenfeld received the majority of votes. A call was sent to him, which he accepted in a letter, but he never came, and nothing came of the attempt. Spangler suggests that Frankenfeld wanted to arrange an exchange of congregations with Lischy, but Frederick would not take Lischy, and so the project fell through.) The coetus also allotted the Holland money to the ministers. They complain against Schlatter's action at Goshenhoppen, where Schlatter had objected to their coetus and tried to get the letters of the synods from Leydich by force, but was prevented. They charge Schlatter with lording it over the Church and seeking rather his glory than that of the Church. They complain of Schlatter opening their letters, and ask the deputies to send the letters not through Schlatter, but through DuBois, of New York, or through the merchants, Messrs. Shoemaker, of Philadelphia. The minutes are signed by Weiss, president; Leydich, clerk; Waldschmidt and Wissler, and also by four elders, one each from Falkner Swamp, Providence, Philadelphia and Germantown. As a result of this coetus, Rubel was installed pastor of the Philadelphia congregation, November 18, 1753, by Weiss and Leydich. Thus the coetus was rent in twain.

Meanwhile the deputies had heard of the unfortunate state of affairs among the brethren of the coetus. They were at first surprised at getting no tidings from Schlatter for so long a time. And they were the more awkwardly placed, because Schlatter's opponents were repeatedly giving the full particulars against Schlatter. Weiss and Leydich both write, Weiss giving a full description of the trouble as it began at Philadelphia. Steiner also wrote, trying to assist Rubel, and, in addition to his letters, sent newspapers reflecting severely on Schlatter. For this kind of action the deputies severely reply to him. Rubel also wrote, but to Kessler rather than to the deputies, although all these letters were read to the deputies. They therefore wrote to Schlatter, expressing themselves very much displeased with his want of correspondence, especially as his opponents were writing so frequently. Schlatter, perhaps, felt that there was nothing to write, because so much was going wrong in Pennsylvania. But his negligence prejudiced his case against him in Holland. When the deputies wrote to Schlatter, April 2, 1753, they rebuke him that from September, when he wrote to them about his safe arrival in America with the six young ministers, up to that time they had not received any word from him. They criticise him for not acting wisely in his management of the Pennsylvania churches. They also speak of the charges brought against him. They find fault with him about the release he gave to the Philadelphia congre-

gation, of which they had learned only through his opponents ; and they want to know the reason why he had never mentioned it during his stay with them in Holland. The deputies had discussed his case at their meeting of March 13, 1753. About his refusal to admit elders to the coetus, and his acceptance of the presidency of the coetus, for which his opponents charged him with wanting to be permanent president, on these points the deputies had decided against him. They suggest that he accept a charge in Virginia, rather than be a superintendent.

By the fall of 1753, however, the deputies begin to get a large correspondence. They had been complaining for so many years (since 1731) that they had not been receiving letters enough from Pennsylvania, and were not able to get sufficient information. Now they get all the information they want, and more than they desire. They were flooded with letters, as Schlatter also, as well as his opponents, begins writing. The period of 1753-1754 is the most prolific in the Holland correspondence.

Schlatter writes to them, August 20, 1753. He claims that he had written a number of letters. He attempts to explain away his concealment in Holland of the release he gave to the Philadelphia congregation in 1751. He says that he did not deem it necessary to mention it in Holland, as he had so many other testimonials, which he brought with him from Pennsylvania, and because he thought the matter would blow over by the time he

returned. In regard to the 80 dollars of the Reiff money, which his opponents charged him with keeping, and which the deputies ordered him to divide between the churches at Germantown and Skippack, he replied that the deputies had already ordered him to use part of it for traveling expenses, and also for the salaries of the schoolmasters. He said that he was willing to pay the money to Germantown, although it had so unkindly treated him ; and as Skippack had gone to nothing, he desired farther instructions from the deputies, to know what was to be done with their share of the money.

We must confess that about his release to the Philadelphia congregation Schlatter's defense seems weak. It was his duty, as their agent in Pennsylvania, to make known to them everything. But in regard to the Reiff money Schlatter was right. The deputies had forgotten their previous orders to him. In regard to the third charge against him, that he refused to allow elders in the coetus, he enclosed a letter of deputy Hoedemaker, in which he gives it as his opinion that elders should not be admitted to the coetus. Still, Schlatter never should have accepted Hoedemaker's individual opinion alone, but should have waited for deputies to have acted on so important a matter. In regard to the fourth charge, that he allowed himself to be made president, and sought to be a superintendent over the brethren, he denied it and stated that he had been elected unanimously by the coetus. He

complained in his letter that the deputies had condemned him unheard, and asks for a lenient judgment. He also tells them that such troubles as the Reformed were passing through, were the common lot of every denomination in this new world ; that the Lutherans had their quarrels under Muhlenberg, as at Germantown. And we might add, the Presbyterians too had had theirs about the followers of Whitefield.

The deputies, in their correspondence, find fault with the Pennsylvania ministers, that after the Holland government and churches had given such large donations to their work, they should allow themselves to get into such a dissension. Lischy too on November 8, 1753, wrote a letter of deep humiliation to the deputies, regretting their unfortunate divisions as a poor return for their kindness.

But matters, by the fall of 1753, had come to their extremest pass. The coetus had split into two parts, a sad sight for so small and so young a body. Matters could go no farther. The time had come for a return to unity. Only a month passed after the rival coetus had met, October, 1753, when a most unexpected thing took place. Schlatter and Steiner became reconciled, November 15, 1753, in the presence of Otterbein, Lischy and DuBois at Philadelphia. Steiner then declared his willingness to be subordinate to the Holland Church. (This is another event that disproves the theory that Steiner and the Philadelphia congregation left the coetus, because

they did not want to be subordinate to the Holland Church and its high Calvinism. If there had been anything true in that reason, Steiner never would have come from Holland. For before the deputies he, like all the others, had to sign his adherence to the Dutch creeds, including the Canons of Dort.) He now returns to what he agreed to the deputies, namely subordination to Holland and adherence to their Calvinistic creeds. So peace came between the Weiss and Schlatter parties. And Rubel was the only one left outside of the coetus. Rubel, in writing to the deputies, November 26, 1753, bitterly complained about the reconciliation of Steiner with Schlatter, and said Steiner did it because he needed to get money from Schlatter to pay his debts. And the next meetings of coetus, 1754 and 1755, were pervaded with the spirit of fellowship and union.

In the meanwhile Schlatter went to Europe, having resigned from the coetus. About a week after the reconciliation, the coetus, at a special meeting, gave him his dismissal to go to Europe. Before starting for Europe he presented a series of questions to the ministers, such as he would be likely to be asked by the deputies when he arrived in Holland. These exonerated him and put the blame of the troubles on Weiss and Leydich. These answers were signed by Stoy, Steiner, Lischy, Otterbein, DuBois and Tempelman. He also, as on his first return, bore testimonials from Mr. Peters, secretary of the colony

from Gilbert Tennant and Samuel Davies, Presbyterian ministers of Philadelphia. Tennant and Davies, who were in London, both wrote to Holland, defending Schlatter's course. They say they do this, because of the spirit of independency in all the churches in Pennsylvania. The Holland deputies accepted Schlatter's final dismissal, and also dismissed Rubel, as he, in a letter of November 26, 1753, said that the Germans in the city of New York had been making overtures to him toward organizing a congregation there. On December 6, 1753, Rubel says he has a call to New York and will probably preach there in three weeks. The deputies take him at his word and dismiss him from their employ, but they never recognized him as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation, as they claimed that the Cocalico coetus of 1753, which confirmed his call to that church, was not a regular coetus, and its acts were illegal. Schlatter, when he returned to Philadelphia in 1754, brought with him Rubel's dismissal. The coetus, which met on his return, October 30, 1754, summoned Rubel to appear before them to hear the decision of the Holland deputies. He did not come, but two of his elders appeared. Rubel was very greatly disappointed at the dismissal and rued bargain. He writes to the Holland deputies (December 20, 1754) that he had not desired the dismissal when he made the request, but he submitted to it, saying, however, that he ought not to be deprived of the Holland donations. Rubel, however, refused to

leave the Church, because he claimed that his agreement with the Philadelphia congregation required him to receive six months' notice before he was dismissed. He said that he had been promised sixty pounds a year, and already half a year had gone by ; so as the contract was made with the congregation by the year, he must get his whole year's salary, and after that he would preach his farewell sermon.

This action of Rubel in refusing to leave Philadelphia till his six months' salary was paid, complicated and delayed matters. And the whole matter was still further complicated by the action of the deputies. At their session of April 2, 1755, they find fault with the coetus that Rubel has been deprived of the Holland donations. As he was in the service of the Pennsylvania churches, they say, he ought to have had 200 gulden each year in 1753 and 1754. Yet the deputies had ordered that after October 9, 1754, Rubel should not have a share. The coetus of 1755 ordered Rubel to preach his farewell sermon on April 26, and ordered the Philadelphia congregation to pay him his half year's salary, as stipulated in the call.

Rubel left Philadelphia, but he did not go to New York city to take charge of the congregation there, as he had suggested to the deputies. No wonder he was sorry that the deputies gave him his dismissal, because his going to New York proved to have nothing in it. He went to Camp and Rhinebeck, up the Hudson, where

Weiss had formerly preached for a time, where he says his congregation gave him eighty pounds. He wrote to classis, May 12, 1756, thanking them that they had ordered him to be given 400 gulden, but says he had not yet received any of it from the coetus. A month later he seems to have gone back to Philadelphia to the meeting of coetus, so as to get his 400 gulden. But the coetus was greatly grieved and objected strongly to it, and wrote to the Holland deputies, reminding them that they had by their action contradicted their previous action of 1753. And they report to the deputies that Rubel had been given 100 florins in 1752 and in 1753 to supply deficit in his salary. When the classical commissioners heard of this from the coetus, they acknowledged their error, and say they could wish that the previous action giving Rubel had not been adopted, but it was difficult to go back on the previous action. They suggested that the coetus could pay it off by giving Rubel 100 gulden a year, provided that the church at Philadelphia first gave its 100 gulden. The matter was finally fixed up by the deputies giving 200 gulden, and the coetus and Philadelphia the rest. Thus the Rubel matter was finally closed after being long drawn out and causing perpetual complications.

The deputies had been the more anxious to get rid of Rubel, because in a packet of letters received by the deputies, October 29, 1753, was a letter that had been broken open. In it Rubel wrote to his parents about a

candidate for the ministry, named Vernes, at Solingen, urging him to come to Pennsylvania, and suggesting that he get the Holland deputies to pay his traveling expenses; or if they would not do it, he could raise the money by taking up collections on the way. The deputies thus learned that it was the ambition of Rubel to start and build up another coetus by the side of their coetus. Rubel already had had a candidate for the ministry from Hanau, named Lapp, assisting him, who had been called to Amwell, N. J., and if he could induce a few more ministers to come over to Pennsylvania, he would be able to form a coetus. The deputies took alarm at this project, which thus leaked out by chance. And when Vernes wrote to them, asking to be sent to Pennsylvania and given his traveling expenses, he did not get much encouragement.

Of the later career of Rubel, Rev. Dr. Corwin says in his "Historic Manual of the Reformed Church" that he became pastor on Long Island at Brooklyn and adjacent congregations, 1759-1783. He there became a strong adherent to the Holland party belonging to the conference, which subordinated itself to Holland over against the classis, which was independent of Holland. He became a violent tory in the revolution, calling the American soldiers "Satan's soldiers," and denounced them from the pulpit frequently. He was deposed from the ministry in 1784 and died in 1797.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION IX.

SCHLATTER AND THE CHARITY SCHOOLS.

Schlatter returned from Europe to America, October 30, 1754. He assembled his brethren at his house in Philadelphia for a coetus meeting. It was decided not to call it a regular meeting of coetus, as no elders were present. The letters of the deputies were first read. Schlatter presented his dismissal from the coetus given him by the deputies, and took his leave. But although there had been dissensions among the members of the coetus about him, it unanimously resolved that he should be again admitted as a member of the coetus. He returned, therefore, thanking them for their confidence in him and expressing the hope that he might be able to advance the welfare of the Church in Pennsylvania. It was resolved to hold a regular meeting of the coetus on April 9, 1755, at Lancaster, for which Weiss was appointed president, Leydich vice-president, and Rieger secretary. Weiss agreed to open the coetus with a sermon, and Rieger to close it in the same way. Thus peace reigned, instead of the dissensions of the previous year.

Schlatter now entered on his work for the charity schools. This scheme had a very interesting history.

When Schlatter visited Amsterdam in 1752, he created a considerable interest in the Pennsylvania Germans. The English Reformed congregation at Amsterdam had then as its pastors David Longueville and David Thomson. The former was an intimate friend of Philip Doddridge. He died in 1770, after a pastorate of thirty years, very highly honored. He frequently served as a commissioner of the classis on Pennsylvania affairs. But it was especially his colleague, David Thomson, who became so interested that he gave up his time and labored so earnestly for the Pennsylvania Germans. He had come from Ayrshire, Scotland, the beautiful home of Burns, after graduating in the university of Glasgow, and had been installed as second pastor of this English Reformed congregation at Amsterdam on December 16, 1742. Having learned from Schlatter of the destitute condition of the Germans in Pennsylvania, he requested of the classis of Amsterdam permission to go to England to lay the matter before the British people. It seems strange at first that he should undertake so difficult a work. They were of a different race and spoke a different language. But, although he lived in Holland, he was a true Briton born and felt that his native country did not sufficiently appreciate the needs or the value of these Germans so as to make them good citizens. He determined to give up his time and his salary, and at his own expense go to England to plead their cause before the English people. The classis, March 1, 1752, gave him

credentials stating the object of his work, and also describing what the Dutch had done in sending men and money to Pennsylvania. Thomson's consistory generously granted him permission to go, but asked that he send a supply to minister to them in his absence. This he did by sending to them Rev. Samuel Beldam from England. Before he left Holland, he had a conference with the English minister, the Duke of York, and also had an audience with the Queen of Holland.

So with recommendations from the deputies at the Hague, from the classis of Amsterdam, the classical commissioners, and also from the English Reformed consistory at Amsterdam, he set out on his mission. He left Rotterdam, March 6. When he arrived at London, he first addressed himself to the Presbyterian ministers there. He was received with the greatest cordiality. As the king of England was absent, visiting his European provinces in Hanover, Germany, and the parliament had been dissolved, nothing could then be done. He decided it best to go to Scotland and lay the Pennsylvania churches before the General Assembly of the Scotch Reformed Church. He went, taking with him the recommendations previously mentioned, to which he added recommendations from several members of parliament and from the leading London ministers.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh, May 14, 1752. The Scotch Church (now called Presbyterian) was

not unfamiliar with the German Reformed, for one of its earliest catechisms had been the Heidelberg Catechism. The General Assembly approved of the scheme to aid the Germans, and ordered a collection to be taken up in all its churches on December 2, 1752. At the next General Assembly of 1753, Rev. Patrick Cuming, D. D., the last president, reported that he had written a letter to Rev. Samuel Chandler, of London, suggesting that the best method to aid the Germans was by founding schools among them. The assembly ordered that all the money raised by the churches should be paid to Chandler and his society, and appointed a committee, consisting of all the ministers of Edinboro, the Earl of Dumfries, the Lord Justice Clark, Provost Drummond and several other gentlemen, to correspond with the Charity Society, which had been founded in London. The amount collected by the Scotch churches was reported in 1754 to the General Assembly to have been \$5702.47. The last mention of Pennsylvania in the minutes of the General Assembly was in 1759, when Rev. David Thomson, having returned from Holland to take a pastorate at Gargunnoch in Scotland, made a report that the society had been laboring for eight years, and that a coetus or presbytery had been organized, consisting of fourteen ministers and six or seven schools. The assembly again approved of the movement.

Returning to Thomson, we find that after he had laid

the project before the Scotch General Assembly in May, 1752, he returned to London. At the suggestion of the London ministers he addressed himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who showed great interest, and promised to lay the matter before the king and to ask help for the Palatines for a number of years. Thomson also laid the matter before others of the nobility, especially the Earl of Granville, who advised him to address himself to the provisional government, which acted in the absence of the king. Thomson appeared before this council of the king and was received in a very friendly manner. He appeared before them a second time, but they told him that nothing could be done until the king returned. Meanwhile Thomson was busy agitating the matter and succeeded in organizing a Charity society, called "The Society for the Propagation of the Knowledge of God among the Germans." This had a committee of fourteen gentlemen, consisting of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Sir Luke Schaub, Sir Josiah Van Neck, Thomas Chitney, esq., Thomas Fluddyer, alderman of London, Benjamin Avery, LL. D., James Vernon, esq., John Bance, esq., Robert Ferguson, esq., Nathaniel Price, Rev. Dr. Birch, Rev. Casper Wetstein, Rev. David Thomson and Rev. Samuel Chandler. Its president was Lord Willoughby of Parham, and its secretary Rev. Samuel Chandler.

Mr. Chandler, the secretary, deserves especial mention for his continuous and self-denying labors for the Germans

of Pennsylvania. He was a Presbyterian clergyman, born at Hungerford, Berkshire county, 1693. He began to preach in July, 1714, and his first pastorate was at Peckhamville. The loss of his wife's fortune in the South Sea scheme compelled him to open a bookstore and enter the field of literature. While he was at Peckham, a course of lectures in defense of Christianity was inaugurated in the Presbyterian church at Old Jewry, London, and he was appointed one of the lecturers. His rising reputation led him to be called to that church first as assistant pastor in 1726, and two years later as pastor. He remained there as pastor for forty years, and became one of the most prominent Presbyterian clergymen of London. He was in the front of a number of the philanthropic movements of his day, as of the "fund for widows and orphans of dissenting ministers." His warm heart quickly responded to Thomson's appeal for the shepherdless Germans of Pennsylvania. He was an able apologist and polemist, a liberal Calvinist, and though repeatedly offered places in the Episcopal Church, he declined. The universities of Edinboro and Aberdeen both gave him the title of doctor of divinity. He died in 1766, aged 73 years.

Benjamin Avery was another prominent and active member of this charity society. He was at first also a Presbyterian minister, but left the ministry and became one of the leading physicians of London. Whenever Chandler appeared before the king's council to ask for

money for the Pennsylvania Germans, Avery was the one who generally accompanied him. Another prominent member of this society was Rev. Casper Wetstein, who was the court chaplain of the princess of Wales and seems to have been a prominent Episcopal clergyman.

This list of members presents a combination of noblemen and politicians joined with ministers and philanthropically inclined persons. For this society appealed to the English people in two ways :

A. Politically. The danger was pointed out that these Germans, being a continental nation, might join with the French in America in the event of a war between France and England. And as they composed the great bulk of the population in Pennsylvania, England would be apt to lose Pennsylvania, one of her most promising colonies, and her central colony ; which, if captured by the enemy, would hopelessly divide the other colonies.* This argument very powerfully impressed the nobles and statesmen of England, and finally made the king take the Charity school scheme under his care.

B. Religiously. It appealed to the English people from a religious point of view. Here were thousands of Germans in one of their provinces, who were almost without ministers, and to a large extent without schools. It was important not only that they should be made good

* They did not know that the Germans would never join the French on account of the bitter prejudice of these German Palatines against the French, because the latter has so terribly devastated their land for many years.

citizens, but that they should be supplied with pastors and schools, so that their souls might be saved.

As Thomson found that he could not finish his work in England before his leave of absence from his congregation expired, he wrote to them, August 18, 1752, asking that it be extended. Accompanying this letter was also a letter from five of the leading pastors of London, George Benson, D. D., John Allen, John Milner, D. D., Nathaniel Lardner, D. D., and Samuel Chandler, showing the necessity of his remaining in London until the king returned from the continent. Thomson's congregation very kindly gave him permission, September, 1752, to remain longer, but asked him to send a minister to temporarily take his place, as Beldam had returned to England. The newly organized society then determined to present a request to the king, asking his consent to take up a collection throughout his kingdom. Thomson, with two of the nobles, advocated this before Pelham, the chancellor of the exchequer. He, however, urged a better plan, namely to name some specific amount, as 500 pounds, that might be given them, rather than a general collection. The Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, and Milford Holfernes, secretary of the American colonies, and also the Count of Halifax, all approved most heartily of the scheme.

But by February 1, 1753, the congregation at Amsterdam requested Thomson's return home, as he had not been

able to send them a supply in his place. The Charity society sent a letter to them, pleading for his stay in London a few weeks more, as matters were coming to a crisis owing to the near return of the king. The consistory of the Amsterdam church granted him six weeks longer absence, as they were not willing that an affair of such great importance should suffer through his absence from London. Our denomination owes a great debt of gratitude to the English Reformed church of Amsterdam for its interest and unselfishness in granting its pastor so long an absence to labor for us in England. By May 6 Thomson had returned to Amsterdam, where he reported to classis and to his congregation the success of his labors. David Thomson should ever live in the memory of the Reformed Church of the United States for his broad, generous, hearty advocacy before the English people of the needs of our German forefathers. He sacrificed time and money, without hope of any return for it.

Thomson remained as pastor of the English Reformed church at Amsterdam till 1758, when he went to Scotland, where he became pastor at Gargunnoch, and afterwards at St. Ninian's in Stirling, where he died and was buried. He was succeeded at Amsterdam by Rev. James Blinshall, of Islington, London, who also showed great interest in the Germans of Pennsylvania and served as a commissioner of the classis on Pennsylvania affairs. The classis of Amsterdam and the consistory, together with the

deputies of North and South Holland synods, afterward made good his traveling expenses, which amounted to \$328.

Although Thomson had returned from England, the work was continued by the newly formed society. On July 20, 1753, Chandler wrote to Thomson that a number more of the lords were willing to add their names to the petition to the king. The Archbishop of York also endorsed the movement. The petition was presented to the king by Chandler, but he found that ten weeks would elapse before an answer would be given. Then Pelham went away from London to the English watering place at Scarborough, and this still further delayed the matter. Finally, on October 23, 1753, Chandler wrote to Thomson the joyful news that he had at last been successful, and that the king had promised \$5000, of which \$3000 were to be paid in November and the remainder later. (The tradition in our Church of an invested fund of \$100,000, whose interest was to be used for the Pennsylvania schools, turns out to be a myth.) The society seems to have received little more money than was received from the Scotch churches and from the king.

On December 1, 1753, the society came into contact with Rev. Dr. William Smith, one of the leading men of Pennsylvania and the head of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, who was in London. He heartily approved their scheme, and proved of great assistance to

them because of his intimate knowledge with Pennsylvania affairs. He wrote a long appeal, December 13, which was presented to the king by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Society also published a brief one-paged sheet, giving a description of the needs of the Germans and a plan of the English schools to be established among them. (The statement that Schlatter's appeal was translated into English does not seem to be borne out. This one-paged tract, however, was based on Schlatter's appeal.)

Meanwhile another Pennsylvanian arrived in London, Rev. Michael Schlatter, the man of whose labors they had heard so much from Thomson, and to whom their published description referred. Schlatter was in London on January 22, 1754. He was gladly received by the Society, and as a token of their esteem was given \$250. The society insisted on his remaining with them several months before he went to Holland, so as to further matters for them. He arrived in Holland about April 1. While he was in Holland, the Charity society appointed him its superintendent at a salary of \$500 a year, and Chandler wrote to him, April 5, notifying him of the appointment. It was very proper that Schlatter should be chosen the superintendent of the society, for his work had led to the beginning of the movement. Besides, he was very familiar with the needs and peculiarities of the Pennsylvania Germans, and it was expected that his appointment would carry weight with it in Pennsylvania. Gilbert Tennant

and Samuel Davies, two of the leading Presbyterian ministers, who were in London that winter, also bore testimony to his ability and fitness. He therefore asked (May 14) the Holland deputies to dismiss him from the Reformed church at Philadelphia.* They granted him his dismissal, but dismissed him not only from the church at Philadelphia, but also entirely from the coetus. His dismissal was dated June 19, 1754. Schlatter closed up his accounts with them, 1746-1754, showing that he had received \$1820 and expended \$2368.80, and during these seven years had in addition to provide his family with food and clothing. However, his mother had given him \$1000, which he had used.

The society in London also appointed trustees in Pennsylvania, who should superintend its work, James Hamilton, lieutenant governor; William Allen, chief justice; Richard Peters, secretary of Philadelphia; Benjamin Franklin, postmaster general, and Conrad Weiser, the prominent Indian interpreter, and ordered them to open schools at Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Skippack and Hanover. The society also published, in 1754, a pamphlet entitled "A Memorial of the Case of the German Emigrants Settled in Pennsylvania." It said that the population of Pennsylvania was 190,000, of whom 100,000 were Germans, and 30,000 of them were Re-

* He seems to have clung to the idea that he was pastor of that charge to the end.

formed. It says that they were ignorant, and because unable to speak English, liable to lapse back into semi-civilization and become like the Indians around them; that they were liable to become allies to the French, as both nations were from the continent of Europe, especially as their lack of knowledge of the English language would prevent their becoming united with the English. If therefore England would make herself sure to retain this colony, she must educate them and make them English. This memorial was, however, not quite true to the facts. (The Germans were not inclined to become savages because of lack of schools. They had their parochial schools, and printing press, on which Saur had published (1743) the first Bible published in America. Neither were the Germans inclined to join with the French.) The memorial also describes the labors of Weiss and Schlatter among the Germans. It is noticeable that it says not a word about the labors of Muhlenberg, the founder of the Lutheran Church, or any other among the Germans. It seems to rely entirely on Schlatter's work.

Dr. Smith returned to Philadelphia, May 22, 1754. He attempted to call the American trustees together, but failed, as Peters, Franklin and Weiser were absent at Albany about an Indian treaty. Before a meeting could be held, Saur, the editor of the leading German paper, published in his issue of June 26 and July 1 a bitter attack on the whole movement. He denied that the Ger-

mans were an illiterate people ; charged that the new schools would deprive them of their German language by teaching their children English. He also charged that it was a scheme to draw the Germans into the Episcopal Church.

The first meeting of the trustees was held at the house of Judge Allen, at Mt. Airy, Pa., August 10, 1754. They decided to follow the instructions of the English society and open schools at Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, (New) Hanover and Skippack ; that six to eleven local trustees should be appointed to each school, who were to be divided between the Reformed, the Lutherans and the English. A letter was read from Muhlenberg, warmly commending the movement. He suggested that the Society aid Franklin in his effort to establish a German printing house, so as to lessen the unfortunate influence of Saur. Smith was appointed the secretary of the American trustees.

A second meeting was held, August 23, 1754, at the governor's house at Bush Hill. All the trustees were present except Allen. Two petitions were received from Muhlenberg's Lutheran congregations at New Hanover and New Providence. The society thanked them for these requests, and the offer of their school-houses, but as it was an undenominational society, it had to decline them, but suggested that they get the Reformed to join with them. They appointed local trustees. Among these the Reformed

at Lancaster were represented by Adam Simon Kuhn, Rev. Mr. Otterbein and Sebastian Graff, at New Providence and Skippack by Abram Sahler and Dr. John Diemer, at Reading by Isaac Levan and Samuel High, at New Hanover by Henry Antes and John Reifsnnyder. It declined to appoint the Reformed and Lutheran minister at each place for fear of denominational prejudice. It decided to buy Franklin's printing press, and soon began the publication of a German paper and also of some German books and almanacs. On September 6, 1755, Saur again attacked the Charity schools. The conduct of the Germans in refusing the Charity schools was not wise, but neither were the promoters of the movement wise in their statements about the Germans, which reflected on their education and devotion to Protestantism or to England.

Schlatter arrived in America September 28, 1754. He had been detained in England on business for the society. While in London he enlisted the influence of Penn in favor of the society, and also handed the printed Memorial to the king, who some time later gave 1000 pounds. He arrived in America just in time to influence the coetus and to offset any influence that Saur might have exerted among it by his attacks. Two days after his arrival Smith wrote to Rieger and also to Stoy, sending them the published statement of the movement. In his letter he states that the society would aid in filling up the deficiencies in the salaries of the Reformed ministers. He asked how many min-

isters there were, and how much their salaries fell short, and suggested that they name some young men who might be supported in studying for the ministry. Rieger and Stoy replied that as this was a matter of such weighty importance, it would require the consideration of the whole coetus, and Schlatter would then explain the whole project to them. On October 28 the Reformed congregation of New Hanover petitioned for a school, and the next day the Reformed congregation at New Providence did so, Leydich presenting these petitions personally to the trustees. But by May 6 the Reformed of New Hanover, remembering their former opposition to Schlatter in the coetus, began to find fault with the Charity schools because Schlatter was superintendent, and the elders refused him their pulpit. They declared they would have nothing to do with them till they had first heard from the Holland deputies about them.

On December 10 another meeting of the trustees was held, at which Schlatter was also present as superintendent. Smith read the pamphlet that he had prepared, entitled "A brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Scheme for Carrying on the Instruction of poor Germans and their Descendants." It was approved, and 1500 copies were ordered to be printed. A petition was brought from Reading. On December 26 a petition was received from the Lutheran and the Reformed congregations at Vincent, Chester county, and was granted, and Louis Ache appointed school-master. Sebastian Wagner and

Peter Stager were the Calvinists signing the request. A petition from the Reformed and Lutheran congregations of Upper Salford was granted, and Rev. Mr. Schultz, a Lutheran minister, appointed as school-teacher. On Jan. 15, 1755, a petition from the congregations of Tulpehocken, Lebanon county, and Heidelberg, Berks county, was received at a meeting, but as they differed as to the location of the school, it was referred back to them until they chose its location. A petition was also received from the Lancaster congregation for a Latin school-master. The meeting ordered that a letter of introduction be prepared for Schlatter, and also a letter of instruction to him. By February 25 the report of the trustees was issued.

Schlatter now began opening the schools. On February 16 he opened one at New Providence with Charles Cornelius Rabatan as school-master; on March 1 at Upper Salford, and on March 5 at Reading. On April 1 Conrad Weiser opened a school at Tulpehocken and Heidelberg, John Davies, from Ireland, school-master. On May 8 he opened a school at Vincent, Chester county; on May 16 at Easton, and on July 1 at Lancaster. The project of the schools thus seemed to be popular. The society had intended to open twenty-five schools when it appointed Schlatter, but applications were made for only eighteen, and only twelve were opened. Smith and Schlatter made a visitation of the schools, July 25, 1755,

and also a second visitation in April, 1756, going even to the frontiers.*

The Reformed coetus was at the beginning quite favorable to the movement. Even before the society was organized in America, Stoy, Otterbein, Rieger and DuBois wrote a joint letter, that their only hope in the midst of the divisions in the coetus was the establishment of the Charity schools, about which they had heard from England. The coetus of April, 1755, took action approving of the society, sending it a vote of thanks, and at the request of the society appointed Stoy and Otterbein as their deputies to inspect the schoolmasters. They already began to reap good results from it. Thus on June 23, 1755, Weiss gave a receipt for four pounds to the society for work done as a catechist in the schools near him. On June 25 Steiner

* The report of the society for 1759 was:

	<i>Number of Scholars.</i>
1. At New Providence, Phila. county.	50, almost all Germans.
2. At Upper Dublin, Phila. county.	48, one-third Germans.
3. At Northampton, Bucks county.	60, all low Dutch.
4. At Lancaster, Lancaster county.	65, nearly one-half Germans.
5. At York, York county.	66, more than one-half Germans.
6. At New Hanover, Berks county.	45, all Germans.
7. At Reading, Berks county.	36, more than one-half Germans.
8. At Vincent, Chester county.	45, all Germans.
9. Presbytery school for educating the youth for the ministry,	25
Total,	440

N. B.—These numbers were taken just after the harvest, when the schools were but thin. In winter the numbers educated in this charity often amount in all to nearly 600, and have amounted to 750, before the school at Easton and that at Codorus were broken up by the Indian incursions. Upwards of two-thirds are of German parentage.

gave a similar receipt for four pounds, and on September 9 Schlatter receipted for five pounds for the use of the "Calvinist congregation" in Philadelphia. Later in the year, however, Stoy criticises the schools in a letter because they were not entirely Reformed. He also took umbrage at the words used by Dr. Smith, "The Lutherans are nearer to the Church of England than the Calvinists." The coetus of 1756 was also somewhat unfriendly because of an expression that Smith had used in a letter to Otterbein, that "the fathers in Holland had nothing to do with it." The coetus resented anything against the Holland Church. Some of them began to fear that the scheme at bottom might be after all nothing but a political scheme, and they wrote a letter to Franklin saying that the Holland deputies desired to know whether the society had not already appropriated something to the salaries of the ministers. This was true, as the Charity society had appropriated in 1753 200 pounds to the Reformed ministers, which was to be divided among them so as to make up for deficiency of salaries. This coetus received \$214.40, and divided it among the ministers. The coetus of 1757 expressed less hope for the schools, because they were only English, and said that if the children were to be taught in the German language, they must have their own parochial schools. It, however, reported that the society had given them \$192 for their salaries. Steiner in his letter of 1758 reported that the ministers knew the Charity schools better and would aid

them. In 1758 it received about \$192. Coetus declared that in all it had received its third donation from the society. In 1761 it reported to Holland that the society had not paid anything for two years. In 1763 the Holland deputies wrote to London asking that they be aided, and the coetus of that year thanked them for their effort. But by 1763 the society had ceased its activity.

The reason for this was the gradual decrease of the receipts and interest in the society. We found a number of its notices for meetings from 1757-1759. These meetings were held in London in the west room behind St. Dunstan's, and at the Crown and Anchor on the Strand. Thus the following was addressed to Rev. Mr. Westein, Wigmore, Cavendish Square :

"SIR :

JAN. 3, 1758.

"You are desired to meet the nobleman and gentlemen entrusted with the moneys collected for the use of the foreign Protestants in Pennsylvania on Saturday, the seventh instant, at Richards' Coffee House, near St. Dunstan's church, in Fleet street, at twelve o'clock.

"SAMUEL CHANDLER."

The society generally held its meetings monthly on Saturdays. We found notices of the following dates still in existence : January 25, 1757, called meeting on 29 ; May 25, for meeting on 28 ; August 22, for meeting on 27 ; January 3, 1758, for meeting on 7 ; February 7, for meeting on 11 ; April 25, for meeting on 29 ; December 13, for meeting on 16 ; January 16, 1759, for meeting on

20 (this last one announced that Provost Smith would be present); April 30, 1759, for May 5, at 1 p. m. The society had started off with a fine gift of about \$6000 from the Scotch Church, \$5000 from the king and \$100 from the Princess of Wales—altogether \$11,100. To this may be added small gifts received from other individuals and churches. Chandler, in 1757, says he hoped to get a yearly donation from the king, and he seems to be successful, for in his letters he acknowledges that he received, in 1758, \$1000 from the king, and the same amount the next year, although he had to write repeatedly to the Duke of Newcastle about the matter. In 1760 the king paid \$2000, and also in 1761, when the society appropriated 300 pounds to the ministers and 370 pounds 13 shillings to school-masters. Then came the death of the king. Chandler, the unwearied friend and the soul of the enterprise, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, stating that if this movement was to continue, it would depend entirely on the liberality of the king, and he most earnestly begged the king to aid it. He also proceeded to reorganize the society by appointing a new board.* The members of the new

* In this the Presbyterians were represented by Revs. Earle, D. D., Chandler and Pope, with John Dunn and Thomas Holmes as laymen; the Congregationalists by Revs. Jennings, D. D., and Goll, and Mr. Crisp and John Winter as laymen; the Baptists by Revs. Sennet and Bulkley, and Messrs. Stinton and Stud as laymen. Rev. Drs. Earle, Jennings and Stewart had been among the ministers who had received the money before, while Messrs. Dunn, Holmes, Stinton and Stud were the treasurers of their respective denominations.

board were all dissenters, thus refuting the charge made by Saur that the society was an Episcopalian body, laboring to spread Episcopalianism. The Episcopalians are noticeably absent, perhaps because they had their own society to spread their Church in Pennsylvania, namely "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The new king seems to have made a donation, for which Chandler thanks him, June 3, 1762. The next year he seems to have ceased giving, and the society having no money to continue its work, fell to pieces, so that its work ceased in 1763.

The whole amount that seems to have been raised was \$11,000 given by the king at different times, and \$6000 given by the Scotch Church, in all, with the gift of the Princess of Wales, \$17,100. This, with other smaller amounts given by individuals and churches may have run the total up to nearly \$20,000. Of this about \$567 was paid for the Franklin press, and more for the publication of suitable books and the new German newspaper. Besides Schlatter's salary the society tried to send \$2500 a year for the school-masters, etc., and seems to have appropriated about \$600 for the Reformed ministers. When the society disbanded it still had in its treasury a small balance, which Chandler said he was willing should be sent to Smith for the University of Pennsylvania.*

* Some of its money was also used to educate Presbyterian students for the ministry. The support of the Presbyterian students for the ministry by this society reveals an interesting bit of history. In a letter to Chandler of April,

During all the history of this society the Reformed Church of Holland sustained the most cordial relations to it. The Dutch and English encouraged each other in friendly rivalry in their efforts to do something for the Pennsylvania Germans and the Reformed. When the grant of the states of Holland and Friesland for \$800 a year was about to run out in 1756, Chandler wrote from England urging the Dutch to use their influence to secure the continuance of that grant, as, if the Dutch lessened their gifts, the English would lessen theirs, as the English had been giving on the expectation that the Dutch would aid their brethren in the Reformed faith. The deputies, when they appeal to the states of Holland and Friesland, used the liberality of the English as an argument to stir them up to do something for Pennsylvania again. As a result the states of Holland and West Friesland continued their donations of \$800 for three years more. Thus the society and the Dutch labored in harmony. The classis of Amsterdam on June 4, 1753, thanked Chandler for so greatly aiding Thomson in his work, and asked their prayers for guidance in the undertaking. And when Stoy wrote to the Holland fathers, somewhat criticising the movement, they replied, recom-

1755, Dr. Smith tells the story of the woes of the Presbyterians, who were divided between Old and New Lights. The latter, who were followers of Whitefield, had taken their college and theological seminary with them, so the Old Lights or Conservatives had none nearer than New Haven, and that could not supply students enough. So it was suggested to graft a theological seminary on to the University of Philadelphia, where Smith taught, and this money was to aid their students.

mending it most highly. The Charity society also aided some of the Reformed ministers on their way to America. Thus when the deputies sent Muntz to America, the society bore the expenses of his family. And when the next minister, Alsentz, was sent by them, they bore all his expenses to America. But when the next minister, Stapel, passed through, he made himself obnoxious to Chandler and was not helped. The society also recommended Rev. Mr. Kals to the Philadelphia congregation. Here they transcended their authority, as he had not been recommended to them by the Holland Church. And the Holland Church remind them that he was a deposed minister.

During all this movement it was noticeable that in America, although the movement included work among the Lutherans as Germans, yet no mention seems to have been made of Muhlenberg's work, or of any money, as far as we have yet been able to find out, given to the Lutheran pastors for salaries as pastors, as there was to the Reformed. Schlatter's work, in all the publications of the society, was made the basis of the movement. As he was also superintendent, it made the Reformed prominent. It was, therefore, much more intimately connected with the Reformed than has hitherto been supposed, and for that reason we have described it so fully. Thus the Reformed had the honor of having had in Schlatter the first superintendent of public schools in Pennsylvania. For this society was really a system of public schools like

that which was inaugurated a century later in the state.

And although the society failed, yet it set in motion certain movements which have since become permanent, as in the University of Pennsylvania and the public school system of the state.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION X.

SCHLATTER'S LIFE AFTER LEAVING THE COETUS.

Schlatter having labored for the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania for nine years, ceased being a member of the coetus in 1755. And during the remaining twenty-five years of his life he never attended any of the meetings, although he might easily have done so from his home at Chestnut Hill near Philadelphia. He started the coetus and then left it for others to build up. The greater part of his life in America was spent as an independent Reformed minister. It has hitherto been a mystery why he left the coetus. Harbaugh suggests that another quarrel between him and some of the members of the coetus was the cause. He bases this on a letter of Stoy of October, 1755 (which he erroneously places in 1756), where Stoy, speaking of the coetal letter of Schlatter of the previous year, says :

“Schlatter added a letter containing many things of which there was no mention in the proceedings themselves. This appears to be not unlike fraud. And what is not contained in the proceedings can not be put to our account. Let Schlatter be responsible for that himself.”

While this letter may hint at some friction between Stoy and Schlatter, yet it does not give the real cause why

Schlatter left the coetus. The true reason was that the deputies in Holland ordered him to leave. At the deputies' meeting, April 2, 1755, after they had expressed great joy at learning from the coetus that peace existed among the brethren, they, however, take the following action :

“The deputies are very much surprised that the ministers had called Rev. Mr. Schlatter in to their deliberations after he, having received his dismissal, had returned to Pennsylvania, and had not only made him moderator and amanuensis, but had also charged him with the visitorship of the Pennsylvania churches, and thus had charged him with and urged upon him nearly the whole rule, and so hindered him very much in the supervision of the schools. Since he had been dismissed that he might give himself wholly to the benefit of the schools, the deputies order that he be no longer troubled with the affairs of the Pennsylvania churches, all the more since his Honor, because of his dismissal from the churches, neither may nor can be recognized or received as a member of the coetus, much less may he be burdened with the matters of the coetus or the service of the churches.”

This is further proved by a letter of the classis of Amsterdam to Schlatter of June 5, 1755, ordering him to leave. This is very summary action. The deputies reiterate their action, November 1755, when they find that Schlatter had been a member of the coetus of 1755: “Deputies would overlook several actions contrary to our intention, because the letter was not received in time, but understand that its injunctions, particularly touching the dismis-

sal of Dominie Schlatter, should be strictly followed up, and in regard to articles 20 and 23, they insist that Schlatter shall remain off of the committee." From the time their letter was received in Pennsylvania, Schlatter disappears from the minutes of the coetus here and of the deputies in Holland.

Schlatter did a great work in connection with the coetus. His most prominent characteristic was his tireless industry. The extracts of his journal give data like these : On September 27th, 1746, he preached at Lancaster and returned to Philadelphia on the 28th, a distance of sixty-three miles. On February 26th, 1747, he traveled thirty-six miles to Hallmill to administer communion. On September 21st he again rides to Lancaster in a single day. When one remembers that his journeys were made not over fine roads, but often through forests on mere paths, and over rivers sometimes swollen by rains, one can understand better the privations of such journeys. Frequently he would tire out the other ministers, who would have to stop and rest while he pressed on. His journeys of 8000 miles in over four years show his amazing activity. His industry ought to be electric and enthuse many home missionaries in our Church to-day. What our slow, conservative Church needs is to be Schlatterized with his tireless industry and activity.

He was a man too of considerable executive ability, which he used to bring the Church to its climax by organ-

izing the coetus, for which the German Reformed churches must ever thank him. He completed what Böhm began. Böhm organized the first congregations. Schlatter organized the congregations into the first synod. But although we are greatly indebted to him for the organization of the coetus, yet historical fairness will not permit us to canonize him as a saint. He organized the coetus, but he did not perfectly manage it after it was organized. This was due to several causes :

1. It was due to the complex elements of which the coetus was composed. Before he came, Böhm, Weiss and Rieger had not been in sympathy with each other. Böhm openly distrusted Rieger that he was Reformed. Even after the coetus was formed, he does not consider Rieger thoroughly Reformed, because he did not sign the Canons of Dort. Now, if it was difficult to handle the coetus when it was small, this difficulty became the greater as the coetus became larger, because the diversity between its members was greater. And Schlatter proved himself unable to keep peace between the diverse elements.

2. It was due to the Holland fathers to some extent. We would not be understood as criticising them. That would be unkind, considering the very kind and unselfish treatment they gave to our early Church. But they were too far away. They were not always able to suggest the wisest methods. Thus they appointed Schlatter a sort of visitor for the congregations for the first part of

his ministry here. They did not consider that that office, when held too long by him, would give offence, so that he was charged with wanting to become permanent president and superintendent. Then the deputies did not order him to close up the Reiff money as quickly as it would have been best. They left part of it in Schlatter's hands. And while he was waiting for them to tell him what to do with it, his enemies took advantage of this and charged him with irregularities in not giving it to the objects for which it was collected. Yet the deputies did not intend to put him in a false position. Again, the deputies continued sending to him the Holland donations. This often placed him in a very awkward position, as with Weiss and Leydich in 1753. These wanted the money, and yet the Holland deputies had forbidden him to pay it to any one who had left the coetus. Schlatter in all this was only carrying out the orders of the Holland deputies, but it did not save him from bringing down on his head criticism and wrath.

3. It was partly his own fault. In saying this we do not mean to criticise him. Every man has his weak points. No man is absolutely perfect, either in morality or in judgment. He made mistakes, who does not? And to fairly judge him, we must understand where his weaknesses lay, as well as where his strength. Part of his trouble lay in his youth and inexperience. He was only about thirty years old when he came to America.

He never had had charge of a congregation before he came. It is true, he acted as vicar to a minister for a year in Thurgau, but a vicar is only a substitute, without any of the responsibilities of the pastor. At St. Gall he was only evening preacher of a small church on the suburbs. Of the many varied duties and responsibilities that come to a pastor, he had no experience. And of the duties of a superintendent he knew nothing. He did well, considering his meagre previous opportunities. But the Holland deputies placed burdens on his shoulders too great for him with his youth and inexperience to bear. His position needed an older and more experienced head. He had older men with larger experience than himself right under him in the coetus, as Bœhm and Weiss. One reason why Steiner looked down on him was because Schlatter was so much younger than he. Of course Schlatter could not help that he was young. That was not his fault ; nevertheless it proved a hindrance to his work.

Then too the peculiarities of his temperament did to him what they do to all of us,—led him into mistakes. Our mistakes are often exaggerated excellencies, which prove too strong when there is no counterbalancing thing in our nature. Sometimes our strongest points prove to be our weakest. Schlatter was ardent and active, as we have seen. They were excellent elements, and made him energetic and successful in organizing the Church. But

his very impulsiveness led him astray into too quick judgments. He was charged by his enemies with magnifying his office too much,—so much that he wanted to be superintendent over the Church. He denied this, and his friends denied it. And yet we fear that sometimes his activity got the better of him, so that they could charge him with this. Again, his impulsiveness, we believe (for we can't explain it in any other way), led him to mistakes in constitutional questions. Perhaps Böhm was too much of a parliamentarian ; if so, Schlatter was rather too little. Thus his action in confirming the wife of an elder in Böhm's congregation at Falkner Swamp (Schlatter calls him an elder) is indefensible from a constitutional standpoint. Böhm mentions a worse case in his letter of 1748. The Philadelphia congregation had been under Böhm's constitution for many years before Schlatter came, and according to it four elders and two deacons composed the consistory. But when Schlatter took charge of the Philadelphia congregation, what did he do but overturn things? He at once fixed the number of church officers at twelve, and installed them when Böhm was present. At the installation he made them all stand in a row and ordained them all, some of them having been ordained before. Now this was wrong according to all the church customs. An officer ordained once is always ordained, and a second ordination is superfluous. Again, Schlatter at once tried to introduce the St. Gall liturgy, which differed from the

Palatinate, which Bœhm had been using on some points. This caused, says Bœhm, confusion and criticism at marriages and ordinations, when such liturgies were used. It was ill-advised on Schlatter's part to introduce a new Church custom, at any rate so soon. And afterward the Holland deputies searchingly inquire what sort of a new Church order Schlatter had introduced, because they said the proper one was that of the Netherlands.

And yet, while Schlatter's character, like all of ours, reveals weak points, how wonderfully God overrules even our weakness for His glory. God can use and sanctify our peculiarities. Thus Schlatter in his early life had a roving disposition. God utilized it to send him to this western world to do a great work for His Church. Like him, God has turned many a one who is a born traveler into a missionary, to travel for His kingdom. Schlatter's impulsiveness God utilized to aggressive work in America in founding His Church. Well is it for us to allow God to use us as He sees best—use our peculiar bent of mind—use our ruling trait of character—yes, even our weaknesses and failings for His glory and the spread of His kingdom.

Schlatter's withdrawal from the coetus was unfortunate, both for himself and for the Reformed. It was unfortunate for his own sake, for it robbed him of the continual honor that he would have had in the coetus as being the founder of that body. Had he been able to

remain in it, his whole life would have been interwoven with it and it with him. It was unfortunate for the Church in some directions. He had, as we see, many years of activity before him, which might have been used for the benefit of the Church. All this was lost to the Church, because he was outside of the coetus. Still, his monument remains in the synodical organization of the Reformed Church, and will remain as long as it exists. And yet, although his departure was a loss, it was, perhaps, best that it occurred, for peace came to the coetus, and good men rose up to take his place.

Schlatter having left the coetus in 1755, soon found that the Charity school scheme was not to prove a great success. So he accepted a position as chaplain in the British army in the Royal American regiment, of whose fourth battalion he was made chaplain. He was appointed to this position, March 25, 1757, by the commanding general, on "account of his ability and expertness in several languages, and in the meantime he exercised supervision over the schools." This regiment was composed largely of German emigrants and officered by German officers. On May 5 the English fleet sailed from New York for Halifax. This regiment was present at the siege of Halifax and Louisburg, the latter being captured, July 27, 1757. Bancroft thus speaks of these patriotic chaplains there: "There were the chaplains who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers, a renewal of the days

when Moses with the rod of God in his hand sent Jethro against Amelek." On his way to Louisburg, Schlatter passed Cape Breton, off which he had been so nearly wrecked eleven years before. After the war had closed with the siege of Quebec, September, 1759, he must have come home almost immediately, for in the next month he brought a call to Muhlenberg from the Germans of Lunenburg, Halifax, offering him \$450 for his services as pastor and teacher of the parochial school. The Reformed of Lunenburg afterward appealed for help to the Reformed coetus of Pennsylvania in 1772.

After the French war Schlatter resided at Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia, on a piece of ground, says Harbaugh, called the Cooms farm, about ten miles from Philadelphia and four from Germantown, near the Philadelphia and Reading turnpike, fronting on a lane which runs from the pike. He gave this place the name of Sweetland. He was not with General Forbes in his march to Pittsburg. But when the Bouquet expedition went to Pittsburg, he went along as chaplain of the second battalion, having been appointed to it, July, 1764. In the fall of 1776 he disposed of his plantation at Chestnut Hill and removed to a small farm, which he had purchased fifteen years before of Anthony Tunis. In 1776 he had been assessed for owning 130 acres of ground, two horses and five cows.

When the war of the Revolution broke out, he strongly sided with the patriots. His son, Gerhard Richard,

became adjutant in the Flying Camp, and was in the battles of Germantown, Princeton and Brandywine. Another son was a grenadier. At Germantown he had two horses shot under him. When the British captured Philadelphia, Schlatter was exposed to much danger. He was imprisoned in Philadelphia and his house plundered by the British soldiers. While this was taking place, his youngest daughter, Rachel, only fourteen years old, at the risk of her life, seized his portrait hanging on the wall, snatching it out of the hands of the soldier who reached to take it. She then ran with the swiftness of a deer and escaped with it. The soldiers broke up his furniture, cut open his feather beds, scattering the feathers to the winds. They threw, says Harbaugh, the silverware into the well, and put his papers on a pile and burned them. All that his family rescued were his coat of arms, a silver-handled knife and fork and silver spoon that he had used when in the army, and a case of small instruments, such as compass, lancet, pincers, etc.* While he was in prison, his daughter, Rachel, would often ride to Philadelphia on horseback, bringing him provisions. When the American army lay near Germantown, Rachel used to plait the hair of the American officers, for which they paid her pocket money.

By the plundering he became comparatively poor. In 1778 he bought a small home for \$1200 on the turnpike

* These were preserved in the family of his descendants, who now live at Roxborough, Pa.

from Chestnut Hill to Barren Hill and half a mile from his former residence, on the great road between Philadelphia and Plymouth. It was on the east side of the turnpike from Chestnut Hill to Barren Hill. There he lived in quietness, occasionally preaching and performing many marriages.* He preached in Philadelphia, May 20, 1762. Muhlenberg also speaks of his preaching at Barren Hill: "On Easter Monday, April 12, 1762, Mr. Schlatter also came and had an appointment made, after my sermon to administer the holy communion to some Reformed members. After my sermon Mr. Schlatter added a short exhortation, still further impressing upon their hearts what they had heard. After this he went with his church members into the union school house, where he administered the Lord's Supper." Dr. Harbaugh, in his biography of Schlatter, tells the story that it was customary for the female worshipers at Barren Hill to wear short gowns and neat aprons. When Schlatter would walk up the aisle to preach, he would always do so in a hurried manner. He would sometimes stop on his way, seize one of these clean aprons and wipe the dust of his glasses, which he was carrying in his hands. This Barren Hill congregation he seems to have supplied with services for the Reformed, but as it was an independent congregation, we find no record of it in the coetus' acts. He was on pleas-

* Mr. Jonas Detweiler says that from November 12, 1763, to November 7, 1768, he had 64 marriage licenses; from December 23, 1768, to July 9, 1770, 64, for which he received the sum of 37 pounds and 10 shillings. On April 10, 1771, he returned 12 marriage licenses, for which he returned 15 pounds.

ant social terms with Muhlenberg. On March 10, 1762, Muhlenberg and the Swedish minister, Wrangel, visited Schlatter. They were received in a friendly way and entertained for the night. On November 22, 1762, Muhlenberg says he visited Schlatter, where he with others had an edifying conversation about the kingdom of the cross. On December 15 Schlatter spent the night with Muhlenberg. When Muhlenberg was buried at the Trappe, October 10, Schlatter attended the funeral of his old and intimate friend. He was on pleasant social terms with many other leading men, as General Hiester, afterwards governor.

Schlatter died, November 1, 1790, and was buried on November 4 in the Reformed burying ground at Philadelphia, which was located where Franklin Square now is. Dr. Harbaugh says: "Directly east of the sparkling jets, a few feet from the edge of the circular walk, under the green sod lie Rev. Messrs. Steiner and Winkhaus, and Drs. Weyberg and Hendel, the elder. Directly north of this spot, about midway between it and Vine street, lies Rev. Michael Schlatter. As in the case of the rest, his tombstone was laid upon the grave and covered by the grading." His will bears date of October 22, 1790, and was admitted to probate on November 23, 1790. His daughters, Hester, Elizabeth and Rachel, lived at Chestnut Hill and were communicant members of the Reformed church of Germantown. Rev. Albert Helffenstein preached their funeral sermon.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION XI.

THE ATTEMPTED UNION OF THE REFORMED WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS AND THE DUTCH REFORMED.

This was one of the most important movements attempted in the last century. It is true, the union did not take place. But in Church union, as in many other things, we learn as much by failures as by successes. Rev. Dr. Briggs* thus speaks of this attempted union : “ Divine providence in 1744 afforded the American (Presbyterian) synod a magnificent opportunity for combining the entire Presbyterian and Reformed strength in the colonies into one grand organization, etc.” This is true. It forms a very interesting subject in our early Church history.

The subject of uniting the German Reformed with the Presbyterians came up first in Holland in 1741. After they had been trying for ten years to gain sufficient information to intelligently aid the German Reformed, and were so often balked, and especially when Dorsius’ account of the outlook was rather discouraging, it occurred to them that as Pennsylvania was an English colony and they had heard that there was a Presbyterian synod formed there, it might be well to turn over the Germans

* In his “American Presbyterianism,” page 284.

to their care. The deputies, November 13, discussed the matter, that as Pennsylvania was a Protestant land, it might be possible to obtain better results if the German churches were united with the Presbyterians, and thus the Church of the Netherlands be relieved of the labor and expense of their care. The deputies ordered that a letter be written to Rev. Mr. Dorsius and to Rev. Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for information.

No reply came to this until 1743, when Dorsius himself visited Holland and attended the meeting of the deputies, September 17, 1743. With the greatest interest they especially ask him what the Scotch Presbyterian coetus (synod) was ; what were its relations to the Reformed, and whether the Dutch and German congregations could not be united with it. They judged this very necessary, in order to prevent their disintegration. On September 20 the deputies addressed a letter to the officers of the Pennsylvania congregations, asking whether it would not be possible for the Dutch and German congregations to be united with the Presbyterians. This letter was given to Dorsius, to take with him to Pennsylvania, to be given to all the German congregations, and especially to Böhm, their leading minister. Dorsius, very soon after landing in America, proceeded to carry out the instructions of the Holland deputies. He went to Philadelphia, where he had a conference with the two Presbyterian ministers on the proposed union. They thought it could be easily

arranged. He promised to have the request of the deputies translated into English and submit it to their synod. He laid it before the synod, and it acted on the letters, May 25, 1744, thus :

“The Rev. Mr. Dorsius, pastor of the Reformed Dutch church of Bucks county, laid a letter before us from the deputies of North and South Holland, wherein they desire of the synod an account of the state of the High German and Dutch churches in this province, and also of the churches belonging to the Presbyterian synod of Philadelphia, and whether the Dutch churches may not be joined in communion with said synod, or if this cannot be, that they form themselves into a regular body and government among themselves. In pursuance of which letter the synod agree that letters be wrote in the name of the synod to the deputies of these synods in Holland in Latin, and to the Scotch ministers in Rotterdam, giving them an account of the churches here, and declaring our willingness to join with the Calvinist Dutch churches here, to assist each other as far as possible in promoting the common interest of religion among us, and signifying the present great want of ministers among the High and Low Dutch (Germans and Dutch), with the desire that they may help in educating men for the work of the ministry.”

The synod, in order to carry this out, appointed a committee to correspond with the Church of Holland. This committee was composed of the president of the synod, Rev. Mr. McHenry, and Rev. Messrs. Andrews, Cross and Evans, Jr. Mr. McHenry wrote, June 14, 1744. In his letter he reciprocates the kindly feeling the

Church of Holland had shown toward the Presbyterian synod. He speaks of the respect which the Presbyterians had for the German Reformed, who hold to the doctrine of Calvin. He says that there are a great number of German Reformed in the colony, but they have only one or two ministers to serve them, and because they are neglected, they are in danger of being led astray by adventurers, or by sects, or by the Moravians, who are multiplying. He declares that the Presbyterians are favorable to union ; but if it could not be brought about, they were ready to aid the German Reformed to come to some organization among themselves. He then appeals to the Church of Holland, so well known for its liberality, for a donation toward a high school, by which ministers might be educated for the ministry. This school would probably also be a help to the Dutch and German churches, for their young men could also be educated there.* In addition to this letter McHenry also wrote a letter to Rev. Mr. Kennedy, the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Rotterdam in Holland, June 26, 1744, because he had made known to Dorsius in Holland that he would be glad to help the movement. Kennedy ever afterward acted as the mediator between the Holland synods and the Presbyterian

* Through the division of the Presbyterians in 1741, by which the synod of Philadelphia had cast out the followers of Whitefield, the latter had taken the college with them and the synod of Philadelphia had no institution nearer than New Haven, so the Philadelphia synod was anxious to gain aid from the Dutch. They had established one the previous autumn with twelve pupils.

synod at Philadelphia. The letter to Kennedy says that "it was the unanimous resolve to admit the Reformed who held to the doctrines of Calvin, and that they rejoiced at so fine an opportunity. He says that some years before some of the Presbyterians proposed to the German Reformed to unite with them, that they then recognized this as just and good, but since then nothing had been done."

These letters were not brought before the Holland synods until April 28, 1745, when they had come into the hands of the deputies.

But as the matter in hand was so important they postponed action until the meetings of the synods. The synods listened to the letter with great pleasure, but did nothing, simply referring it back to the deputies again for more information. They said they did not as yet have sufficient light in order to offer satisfactory advice about a matter of such importance. Besides Dorsius had not yet been heard from, and they did not know what the Dutch of New York would do. The Dutch never were in a hurry. The deputies, however, continued the work. On November 16 deputy DuVignon reported that he had had a long conference at Rotterdam with Rev. Mr. Kennedy, who said that he thought there would be no trouble about union with the Presbyterians. He thought the Germans would be allowed sufficient freedom within the union so that they would be satisfied. The deputies heard with gladness the report of DuVignon, thanked Dominic Kennedy, and

asked the former to find out from the latter whether the Presbyterian synod had in it any elements of Arminianism. DuVignion reported at the meeting of March 15, 1746, that Kennedy did not believe that the Presbyterian church in Philadelphia allowed laxity of doctrine, but he would find out. By the time the next synod met in the summer of 1746 a new star had arisen in the path of the synod, namely, Schlatter. The deputies decided to wait for more information from him about the Germans, and also from Kennedy in regard to the Presbyterians. They, however, expressed a wish that the German churches might be united to the Presbyterian.

But though everything looked so auspicious, and both the Dutch in Holland and the Presbyterians in Pennsylvania were favorable, nevertheless difficulties began to spring up. How often it happens that the nearer two denominations are together, the farther they are apart. The closer toward union that denominations come, the larger become the few remaining differences. Mole hills are exaggerated into mountains, until the union is prevented, not by great differences, but by petty divergences.

The first difficulty was the absolute refusal of the German Reformed of Pennsylvania to go into a union with the Presbyterians. Dorsius and his Dutch organization in Bucks county were favorable, but the Germans, who were far more numerous, were led by Bœhm into direct opposition to it. Bœhm in his report to the deputies, 1744,

enumerates the following reasons against uniting with the Presbyterians :

1. The attachment of the German Reformed to their Church constitution, which he had drawn up and which they would have to give up if they entered the Presbyterian synod.

2. The ignorance of the English by the Germans was an insuperable barrier. Few of the Germans understood English. How could they get along with each other without understanding one another?

3. The giving up of the Heidelberg Catechism, as that catechism was not accepted by the Presbyterians. The Germans greatly loved the Heidelberg Catechism.

4. The Germans were also pledged to the Canons of Dort, which was not among the Presbyterian creeds, and they did not wish to give it up.

5. Bœhm says that the Germans were accustomed to their formulas for the sacraments and marriage. (The Germans had been accustomed to a simple liturgical service on these occasions, but not at the regular church services.) These, he says, they did not wish to give up, which they would have to do, if they went into union with the Presbyterians.

For these reasons Bœhm declined to go into the union.

The second opposition came from the Dutch Reformed of New York. They had always been strongly Calvinistic, and they looked on the Presbyterians as containing

elements of Arminianism. The Presbyterians around them in New York belonged to the Whitefield party, upon which they looked with suspicion. And they seemed to have judged the Philadelphia synod by the Presbyterians around them, although the Philadelphia synod had separated from the New York synod, because it stood on a higher Calvinistic position than the latter. The Dutch ministers wrote to Holland, objecting to a union with the Presbyterians, lest they be made to unite with Arminians. Thus the matter was held in abeyance until the Holland Church had gained more information about the Philadelphia Presbyterians.

Meanwhile the Presbyterians did not let the matter rest. They felt aggrieved by the charges made against them by the Holland Church for their departure from Calvinism. On October 16, 1747, Rev. Mr. Cross, of Philadelphia, wrote a letter to Mr. Kennedy, of Rotterdam, defending the Presbyterians. He said that they favored a union with the Germans and Dutch; that the objections of the Germans on the ground of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort were of little importance. They would be allowed to retain these creeds and still be in the same organization as the Presbyterians. Cross said the Presbyterians of Philadelphia held to the same standards and formulae as the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, with which the Hollanders considered themselves to agree. He proposed a federative union, in which the Germans could still

retain their catechism and their formulas. He says he was especially astonished at the Dutch ministers of New York in charging them with heterodoxy. He said the Whitefield movement had caused the schism, and the liberals in theology had been driven out. He denied that there was any Arminianism or Pelagianism among the ministers of the Presbyterian synod of Philadelphia. On the contrary the synod had been careful to exclude from it the followers of Whitefield. He closed with thanks to Mr. Kennedy for maintaining their cause before the Holland deputies.

This letter for some reason did not come before the deputies till March, 1750. But though delayed it could not have come at a more fortunate time to help the movement for union. For the Holland deputies were just beginning to hear of the unfortunate quarrel between Steiner and Schlatter in Philadelphia. And the more they heard of this, the more complicated it became and the less the deputies felt they knew how to bring peace. They became weary of the quarrel, and felt it would be a good thing to turn over the Germans to the Presbyterians. The latter were on the ground, while the deputies were far away, and the Presbyterians would therefore be able to decide matters better. Besides, other important matters, as the ordination of Lischy and Tempelman, were awaiting decision, and the deputies could not decide. And again, Böhm, the great opponent to union with the Presbyterians, had died, so that there was now no opposition

to it in Pennsylvania, especially as Schlatter was favorable. (And so this project for union reasserted itself in 1750, and came very nearly being accomplished in 1751, as the Holland synods virtually accepted it.) The deputies, therefore, took this action: "Since the anxiety of the deputies is increased, lest our pains and outlays for the Pennsylvania affairs may come to naught, when they might be saved by the Scotch Presbyterian Church, therefore deputy Probsting was ordered to confer with Dominie Kennedy on the subject." When the South Holland synod met in the summer of 1750, one of its classes, the classis of Leyden, overtured it in favor of the union. The South Holland synod approved of the union, but as they found that some of the communications about it were in English, they referred it to the deputies for further deliberation. The deputies reported to the North Holland synod in favor of it. The synod was pleased with this suggestion. Thus both of the synods that had the special charge of the work in Pennsylvania acted favorably toward the union. Deputy Binnevelt then wrote to DuBois, of New York, January 1, 1751, asking whether the idea of union with the Presbyterians would be a wise movement to the Church and agreeable to him.

At the next meeting of the South Holland synod in 1751 four of its classes, Delft, Schieland (Rotterdam), Buren and Gouda, overtured it in favor of the union. They conferred with Mr. Schlatter, who was present at the

synod, about the matter. He had reported to the deputies, May, 1751, thus: "The reason why there is no union of the German Reformed with the Presbyterians, does not touch religion, for they live together as brethren, yes, even wish to be united. But the ignorance of the Germans, and their obstinacy and wonderful misgivings would not permit it, because they looked upon it as a change of religion." This is rather strong language, and severe, we think. But one thing it reveals,—it shows the tenacious love of the Germans for their Reformed faith and their Heidelberg Catechism. Schlatter was ordered to make every effort, when he returned to Pennsylvania, to bring about the union.

However, at the meeting of the North Holland synod of 1751, which occurred later than that of the South Holland synod, opposition to the proposed union appeared. The synod said it had learned that the Presbyterian Church of Pennsylvania was not the same as the Church of Scotland, whose creed and cultus agreed with the Dutch, but it was an independent denomination, without creed or Church government, or simple liturgy, such as the Dutch used at their services. It therefore declined to go any farther toward the union, until DuBois, of New York, was heard, but it urged Schlatter to thoroughly organize the Germans into a strong coetus of their own, and also to keep up correspondence with the Dutch [coetus of New York.

They ordered their deputies to write to DuBois for information.*

As a result of this action of the North Holland synod, the next year, 1752, the South Holland synod, which the year before had been so favorable and seemed to see hope for the German churches in Pennsylvania only in such a union, now decided against it on the same grounds that the North Holland synod did the year before, and the North Holland synod in 1753 reaffirmed its decision. Thus the attempted union failed. The charge of Arminianism in the Presbyterian synod stopped it. And Schlatter's success in organizing the Germans made it less necessary.

So ended this union movement. Had it been accomplished, it would have been one of the most important religious movements of the last century. Its political effect would have been very far-reaching. Calvinism would have gained the ascendancy in the colonies, as the Dutch, German, Scotch and French Calvinists became united. As the war of the Revolution, when viewed religiously, was a union of all who were Calvinists in doc-

* All these things show that Rev. Dr. Briggs is wrong in his "American Presbyterianism." He there charges the conservative High Calvinists that when they drove out the Whitefield party, they prevented this attempted union of Scotch, Dutch and German Presbyterians. The very reverse is true. The Dutch had such a horror of Moravianism, which they considered allied with Whitefieldism, that they never would have allowed the Germans to unite with any synod containing the followers of Whitefield. Not merely this, but they refused to have anything to do with the synod of Philadelphia, to which they once belonged, even though it had cast them out.

trine, namely Presbyterians, Reformed, Congregationalists and Baptists, against Episcopacy (the only Arminian denomination favoring the American cause being the Lutherans), it would have greatly strengthened this movement, if they had united in 1751 into an organic whole and moved together.

It was not only an important movement, but also an interesting study in the new science of irenics or Church union. The time has come when this subject of Church union should be lifted up out of the mists of confusion, which have hitherto surrounded it, and be elevated into a science. The principles of international law are becoming clear and more defined, why not those of interdenominational comity and union? This effort of union reveals one of the greatest obstacles that has always stood in the way of union, namely ignorance or want of acquaintanceship. This was the reason why the Hollanders broke off the union. They were misinformed about the Presbyterians of Pennsylvania. They understood that they were a religious denomination without creed or church government—a sort of a Congregationalist body. Where they could have gotten this idea, we do not know. The letters of DuBois, of New York, have not turned up as yet, but we do not believe he would charge the Presbyterians with Congregationalism, although we believe he would have charged them with heterodoxy, because he thought there were some Arminians among them, for the Presbyterians

of New York were of the Whitefield stamp. And again, the objections of the Pennsylvania churches would also have been met by a more thorough knowledge of church union as a science. This science had not been formulated by that time. It was an age of polemics, rather than of irenics. But since then the science of union has crystallized into three forms: fusion (where the denominations melt into one), federation (where the denominations remain distinct, but are united in some higher court, as the synod or alliance), and fellowship (where they remain distinct, but work together in the practical problems that confront them). These may have many phases, but still they are the general principles. Now if Böhm had been aware of the federative form of union, he would not have raised the objections he did. But federative unions were unknown in those days, not even fellowship, to which the churches usually come first, being known to any extent. It has remained for this nineteenth century to develop the idea of federation and bring it into prominence, and it seems destined to be one of the most popular forms of union in the future.

And so in the providence of God these three denominations, the Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed and German Reformed, were permitted to remain separate. Each was thus left to develop its own particular phase of Calvinism. Had the union occurred, the Dutch and German elements would doubtless have been absorbed in the larger and con-

tinually increasing elements of the English Presbyterianism. But each was allowed to develop, and we have to-day the conservatism of the Dutch, the irenics of the German and the breadth of the Presbyterian. Besides, as denominations have now grown in this country so large as to become unwieldly, and therefore unable to give sufficient representation in upper church courts, it is well that they remained apart and thus had formed smaller denominations. Even the small ones will be large enough for all practical purposes by and by. Finally, even if the proposed union did not take place, it was a prophecy of the last century of what did take place in this century, when the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system was founded. Had that been known in 1744 and 1751, it would have solved the union. Let us rejoice that in our day we have what they did not then have, an Alliance which shows the essential unity of historic Calvinism, while still perpetuating its distinctive types.

Before leaving the subject of union, we must not forget to note a later attempt to unite the coetus with the Dutch Reformed of New York and New Jersey. That Church had separated in 1755 into two parts, a classis independent of the Holland Church and a conferentie which acknowledged the authority of Holland. In 1767 the classis sent a delegate to the Pennsylvania coetus, Rev. John Leydt. He described the new college started by

the Dutch in New Jersey, and asked the aid of the coetus. Coetus in reply declared itself glad to accept the fellowship of the Dutch brethren, provided their relation to the Church in Holland was not weakened or prejudiced. It asked the Holland deputies, who were bitterly opposed to the classis, not to think evil of them for approving the college, because of its usefulness in raising up ministers. In the coetus the next year (1768) three members of the Dutch classis were present, Leydt, Hardenberg and Van Harlingen. They made overtures to the coetus for a union. This, if accepted, would compel the coetus to declare itself independent of the Church in Holland. It produced a crisis in the coetus. They spent a whole day on the subject, from early morning till midnight. Never as far as we know did the coetus sit up so late on any subject. Although the discussions about it are not given, yet it is evident that there were some in the coetus who were friendly to union with the Dutch, and to independency of Holland, not because of any difference of doctrine, but for greater liberty. But the coetus finally decided, in view of the great kindness of the Holland Church to them in the past, not to give up submission to Holland. They, however, opened correspondence with the Dutch classis and appointed delegates to attend it. When the deputies heard of the action of the coetus, they express themselves very much pleased that the coetus would thus remain true to them.

Thus failed the attempt to unite the Dutch and German Reformed in America. This movement begun in 1738 (when Boehm attended the preliminary coetus in New York), and continued through 1741-52, and again 1767-68, was the forerunner of later movements in this century—the prophecy, we trust, of a union yet to come. For the close relation of our early German Church to the Dutch in Holland should make it easy to unite with the Dutch in America.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION XII.

THE NEW MINISTERS.

A.—Ministers Sent from Holland.

1748.

JOHN DOMINICUS CHARLES BARTHOLOMAEUS.

He was born at Heidelberg and baptized there December 13, 1723, in the Catholic church. He attended the university there, matriculating January 15, 1743, and afterward going to Franeker university in Holland. He had changed from Catholicism to Protestantism, for he became a candidate for the Reformed ministry under the classis of Franeker in Holland, September 4, 1747. He applied to the deputies to go to Pennsylvania, October 9, 1747, bringing with him excellent testimonials from the professors at Franeker, and an introduction to them by a recommendation from Kulenkamp of Amsterdam. He was ordained and commissioned by the deputies, November 15, 1747. He went to America by way of London, where he was very kindly treated by the Dutch and German Reformed ministers, who took up a collection of ninety guineas for him and his companion, Hochreutiner, in their churches. It seems that they had spent all their

traveling money given by the Holland deputies in London waiting for a ship, they having been deceived by the skipper who brought them there. They evidently remained in London over the winter and sailed in the spring of 1748, after the season for navigation had opened.

In July, 1748, Schlatter received word from DuBois, of New York, that the deputies had sent over two ministers, Bartholomaeus and Hochreutiner. On August 13 they arrived at Schlatter's house in Philadelphia. Schlatter at once put Bartholomaeus to work. He took him with him to preach at Lancaster, Tulpehocken and Falkner Swamp, and the coetus of 1748 assigned him to Tulpehocken. He was installed there, October 16, 1748. When Hochreutiner shot himself he offered, December 21, 1748, to supply Lancaster one Sunday a month with preaching. The only coetus meeting he attended was 1748. When the coetus of 1749 was held, he was beginning to be sick. This sickness increased until insanity set in. At the coetus of 1752, before he had become fully insane, a request of his was brought, that he be sent back to the Palatinate in the hope that it might bring him back to health again. But the coetus had no money to do this, although some of the members agreed to raise money to aid his journey to his native land. This wish of his was not fulfilled. He became violently insane, threatened his wife, and was brought to Philadelphia to one of the hospitals for treatment. The coetus dissolved his pastoral

relation to Tulpehocken, August 31, 1752. He was committed to the care of the Reformed pastor in Philadelphia. The coetus appropriated money to him every year until his death, July 28, 1768, and afterwards gave repeated grants of money to his widow.

JOHN JACOB HOCHREUTINER.

He was born at St. Gall, April 27, 1721. He studied there under his father (who was a minister and became rector of the Latin school in 1729), and also under Professor Bartholomew Wegelin. On December 16, 1743, he was examined for the ministry. He decided to seek service in the Lord's vineyard elsewhere. Scheitlein* says "he was an earnest and upright youth, but not strong in ability, who recognized his weakness, and soon after his examination sought his fortune in another part of the world." This statement seems to be hardly correct, for he had more ability than that, as his posthumous sermon showed. But Scheitlein is right in saying he sought service in a foreign land. On May 18, 1747, he left his native town to go to Berbice, in British Guiana in South America, as a private tutor to a German. He remained for a time in London and never got any further. He seems to have gone back to Holland, where he appeared before the deputies, September, 1747, with testimonials of St. Gall and a recommendation from Kulenkamp. He told

* Memorials of J. J. and G. E. Scherer.

them he knew Schlatter well. He then appeared before the classis of Amsterdam, October 2, 1747, and before the deputies, October 9, who examined him very carefully. They wanted to see if he was thoroughly Calvinistic, closely questioned him against the Arminians, and decided to locate him at York. They ordained him the same day, November 15, 1747, as Bartholomaeus, and gave him money for his traveling expenses. Together they went to London to come to Pennsylvania in 1748.

After his arrival here Schlatter took him to preach at Lancaster, Tulpehocken and Falkner Swamp. The coetus of 1748 at Schlatter's suggestion assigned him to Lancaster as pastor. His untimely death has been previously given.*

JOHN PHILIP LEYDICH.

He was born at Girkhausen in Westphalia, Germany, April 28, 1715, where he had been assistant to his father. He appeared before the South Holland synod at its meeting at Briel, July 9-19, 1748, with excellent testimonials, and a proper dismissal from his congregation, asking that he might be sent to Pennsylvania. They examined him and found him sound in doctrine, an entire stranger to the Moravianism, and upright in life, and so they appointed him. They then took up a collection for his traveling expenses, which amounted to about forty-six dollars and thirty cents. With his wife and two children he arrived

* See Chapter IV., Section IV., page 359.

at Philadelphia, September 15, 1748, where he was joyfully received by Schlatter.

On the 19th of September, 1748, Böhm, with an elder of his congregation at Falkner Swamp, came to visit Schlatter, and begged that Leydich might be appointed as regular minister at the above named place and in Providence. It was, however, determined to leave the matter rest until the next meeting of coetus, Leydich in the meanwhile preaching at both Falkner Swamp and Providence with great acceptance. The coetus approved his call to these congregations, and Böhm installed him over them immediately after the coetus, October 9, 1748. It is a family tradition, says Dotterer, that when Rev. John Philip Leydich, with his wife and two infant children, for the first time threaded his way through the forest, over the stony road, the vehicle which held them was jolted so violently here that the young wife, accustomed to the comforts of travel in Europe, burst into tears and besought her husband to forego his purpose to make Falkner Swamp his future home and the new world his field of labor. The good dominie, however, did not falter, and said cheerily to his helpmeet: "Ei, mamma, ist dieses nicht das gelobte Land"—Dear wife, be not disheartened; is not this the Promised Land? He continued serving this charge for a period of thirty-six years. He is the solitary illustration in the coetus where a minister had one charge during his whole life. He had for his col-

league and neighbor for many years Muhlenberg at the Trappe, the organizer of the Lutheran Church. During the French and Indian war he joined on July 15, 1757, with other ministers, as Otterbein and the Lutherans, in observing a fast day and taking up a collection in aid of those who were suffering from the Indian invasions. He was president of the coetus, 1751 and 1760, and its secretary, 1756 and 1768, and acted as visitor for the coetus in 1760. He complained, 1750, to Holland about his poverty, that he received only half his salary, receiving \$72. The deputies gave him \$40.

Although pastor of only one charge, he was full of the missionary spirit. He started congregations at Salzburg and Upper Milford. He revived the congregation at Skippack. He went across the Schuylkill river and preached to the Germans in Chester county at Vincent and Coventry. He continued his labors, although with increasing infirmities, until his death, which occurred January 4, 1784. His gravestone in Frederick township bears the text 2 Timothy 2 : 3. "Leydich was a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Dr. Harbaugh tells a beautiful story about him. Mrs. Margaret Moser, who died in Montgomery county, Pa., at the age of 104 years, was baptized in her infancy and confirmed when fourteen years old by Leydich. Paying a visit to this venerable woman on June 14, 1854, a short time before her death we asked her whether she remembered any of the oldest ministers in this country.

She remained silent while we repeated the names of a number of them till we mentioned the name of Leydich. Then she threw up her head, her eyes brightened and smiles covered her aged face while she said, "O yes, Leydich, he was a good man." What a tribute to the life and work of a faithful pastor, though little known to fame. The thing that impressed her most was his goodness. He seems to have been a spiritually minded minister and a faithful though quiet laborer in God's vineyard.

1749.

JOHN CONRAD STEINER.

He was born, January 2, 1707, at Winterthur, in the canton of Zurich, where his father, Jacob Steiner, was a member of the city council. He entered the ministry when only nineteen years old. He was first vicar at Mettmenstetten in the canton of Zurich for two years (1726-1728). Then he returned to Winterthur. He wrote a book in 1738, entitled "The Midnight Cry," a series of sermons on Christ's second coming, dedicated to the mayor and city council of Winterthur. He was pastor at Hemberg and Peterzell in St. Gall, 1728-1739. In 1739 he became afternoon minister at St. George, near Winterthur. But his parish was too small and his position secondary. He longed for a larger field for his abilities and usefulness. He, therefore, determined to go to Pennsylvania. He went to Holland, where he first met the deputies of the North Holland synod, who sent him to the

Hague to deputy Pilaat. Steiner asked to be sent to America in Hochreutiner's place. As he brought excellent testimonials, and as a ship was to sail for America in a few days, the deputies were hastily called together at the Hague, June 13-14, 1749. They found him well fitted for the service of God's Church, and specially averse to the Moravian errors. So they appointed him, and he, with his wife and three children, sailed for America. He arrived at Philadelphia, September 25, 1749. His later life is described elsewhere,* so that we simply give the outline of his life here. He was pastor at Philadelphia, 1749-1751, at Germantown, 1749-1756, at Frederick, Md., 1756-1759, and at Philadelphia, 1759-1762. He died, July 6, 1762.†

1752.

In 1752 the Holland deputies sent over six ministers. We begin with Otterbein, who was the most prominent of them, having been a teacher already, and follow with Wissler, as they were already in the ministry before they came to America. Otterbein and Stoy were the strongest of them, Otterbein emphasizing the spiritual, Stoy the intellectual.

* See chapter 4, section 6, page 376, and chapter 5, section 2.

† In 1752 he published a poem entitled, "The Voice of the Watchman of the Devastated Reformed Zion in Pennsylvania to the Ministers and Watchmen of that Church." It is the longest poem yet published by a Reformed minister. The second part of it is entitled, "An Awakening Voice to the People of Zion in General." There was also a "New Year's Wish" in rhyme addressed to him by John Bernhard Laufersweiler, January 10, 1751.

PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN.

Otterbein was born June 3, 1726, at Dillenburg. He had a twin sister, Anna Margaret. His father was Rev. John Daniel Otterbein, a pious and learned man, teacher in the Latin school at Dillenberg up to 1728, when he became pastor at Frohnhausen and Wissenbach, the former about three miles north of Dillenburg. He died November 14, 1742. Philip William was at the university of Herborn at the time of his father's death, which left the family without means. His mother removed to Herborn so as to live more economically and also educate her children. She must have been a noble mother, for she reared a family of ministers, who exerted a powerful influence in the Reformed Church in Germany as well as in this country. Six of her sons entered the ministry. The year after her husband's death (1743) her oldest son received a position as vicar at Ockersdorf and four years later a pastorate at Fliesbach. So too Philip William later received an appointment which aided to support the family. He was matriculated, says Drury,* in 1742. Professor Arnoldi felt a special interest in him because he had been a pupil of his father in the Latin school at Dillenburg. Philip William first became a private tutor in the county of Berg, and then teacher (1748) in the school at Herborn. He was examined for the ministry, May 6, 1748, and the next year, as his older brother left the vicariate at Ockersdorf,

* Life of Otterbein.

he was appointed to it. He was ordained June 13, 1749. Here he preached once every Sunday, and on every first Wednesday of the month and on festival days and held a weekly prayer meeting.

It was his mother who fed the missionary spirit within him. She was often heard to say, "My William will have to be a missionary, he is so frank, so open, so natural, so like a prophet." He left Herborn with his mother's blessing upon him as she said, taking him by the hand and pressing that hand to her bosom, "Go. The Lord bless thee and keep thee." His younger brother, John Charles, was appointed in his place as teacher in the Herborn school while he went to distant America. No wonder that Mr. Otterbein requested as early as March 31, 1752, that fifty gulden be every year taken from his share of the amount sent by Holland to Pennsylvania, and that it be sent to his mother. He was as good a son as she was a mother. On his departure he was given a beautiful academic testimonial by Professor Arnoldi, February 26, 1752, and by Professor Schramm two days later. He appeared before the deputies at the Hague, March 9, 1752, and was solemnly appointed, March 14, for Pennsylvania. He arrived at New York with Schlatter the night before July 28, 1752, and entered on his duties as pastor at Lancaster, August, 1752, engaging himself to that congregation for five years. At once his congregation, which had had such a succession of reverses, revived,

and the next year they replaced the log church built 1736 with a new stone church. In 1755 coetus made him supply of Reading, also of Conewago. During his ministry at Lancaster a great spiritual change took place in him, which led to a higher consecration to his Savior. One day after he had preached an earnest sermon on repentance and faith, a man smitten with conviction came to him for advice. He knew not how to answer, but sought his closet and wrestled with the Lord till peace came. But he was not satisfied with his people, and said he would never again accept a call for a stipulated number of years. He was disheartened at the lack of spirituality and carelessness of church discipline. At the close of his engagement with them in 1757 he was anxious to withdraw from their pastorate. But his congregation was unwilling. They were ready to promise him anything so as to keep him. They agreed to strict church discipline as he asked. The coetus interceded with him to stay, and he acceded to their request with the privilege of resigning at any time he saw fit. He remained at Lancaster and established a custom that the pastor should have a personal interview with each communicant before he came to the Lord's Supper, a custom which continued there for three quarters of a century. This custom was an old one in the Reformed districts along the Northern Rhine, as the diary of Prof. F. A. Lampe, pastor at Duisburg, abundantly shows.

Otterbein remained another year at Lancaster, and then resigned with the intention of returning to Europe to visit his relatives. But the severe winter and the dangers of sea travel during the war with France led him to temporarily give up his trip, and he accepted as a supply the Tulpehocken charge, which he served for two years. While there he began, as he had done at Lancaster, to hold prayer meetings. He would read Scripture, make remarks, and then after the hymn was sung, they would all kneel and have prayer. At first only a few would offer prayers, so he often had to do it alone, but the number of those who took part gradually increased. Drs. Drury and Spayth, his biographers in the United Brethren Church, seem to think that he was introducing a new custom, but he was not. He was only reproducing a very common custom among the Reformed of the Northern Rhine.* But he was perhaps the first to introduce such prayer meetings as a regular service of the church into America. In other places they had been held perhaps in times of revival or calamity, but his were held regularly.

In 1760 he accepted a call to the congregation at Frederick, Maryland. Here the Lord again greatly blessed him, and he built a stone church in 1763. It seems that some of the congregation objected to his earnest methods and locked the church. So he mounted one of the tombstones in the cemetery and preached with such great power

* See my History of the Reformed Church of Germany.

that the person who had the key could stand it no longer and delivered up the key. He not merely preached at Frederick, but all through Maryland and down into Virginia. Coetus says he almost worked himself to death. He published "The Incarnation which brings salvation and the glorious victory of Jesus Christ over the devil and death," a sermon preached in the Reformed church of Germantown in the year 1760. In 1763 the Philadelphia congregation made overtures to him to call him, while they were still having their controversy with Rothenbuhler, and they finally did call him. But he felt he could not leave Frederick just then, so they called Weyberg. He remained at Frederick five years, during which time he was called to Reading, 1761, but refused, and also to Goshenhoppen, 1762. In 1765 he accepted a call to York, although the elder from Frederick declared to coetus that there was great need for a minister at Frederick on account of the great number of convicted and awakened sinners—the effect of his earnest preaching. After he left Frederick the congregation kept up their own services, even though they had no pastor, for he had trained the spiritually minded ones to hold prayer meetings. His successor, Lange, was a man of a very different type, who derided prayer meetings, but coetus in 1767 decided against him and for Otterbein.

While he was pastor at York he took his long intended trip to Europe. He left York in April, 1770. He

appeared before the commissioners of the classis of Amsterdam, August, 1770, on his way to his former home at Herborn. Great must have been the joy of his aged mother and of his five brothers in the Reformed ministry to see him again. His most prominent brother, George Godfrey, the author of an excellent commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, 1803, and the standard bearer of the Reformed against the oncoming tide of rationalism in Germany, was pastor at Duisburg. When they met William detailed the story of his spiritual awakening at Lancaster. George Godfrey listened with deepest emotion, and rising from his chair, embraced his brother as tears streamed down his cheeks, saying, "My brother, dear William, we are now, blessed be the name of the Lord, not only brothers after the flesh, but also after the Spirit. I have also experienced the same blessing." He left Herborn in February, 1771, on his return to Pennsylvania, and arrived safely at York, October, 1771. He continued pastor at York till 1774, when he accepted a call to Baltimore, which will be described later. But Otterbein all through his ministry emphasized the spiritual. He seems to have been the most sought for as pastor by the congregations, and his influence in the coetus was very great. He was president of the coetus in 1757 and also in 1766. Stahlschmidt says of him: "He is a very gentle and friendly man, and because of his pious, godly manner of life was highly esteemed throughout the land."

JOHN JACOB WISSLER.

He was born at Dillenburg, February 23, 1727. He was the son of Earnest Wissler, the chamber servant of the commander of Spina. He was baptized, March 3, 1727. He attended Herborn University, and had been ordained before Schlatter visited Herborn. He was the only one of the six young men who came with Schlatter who was married. He was appointed to the Egypt charge, near Allentown. He made his first entry in the church record on September 24, 1752. In the Schlatter-Weiss controversy he sympathized from the beginning strongly with Weiss and against Schlatter, to whom he took an aversion on his way over the ocean. He did not, however, live very long. He died between Easter, 1754, when he confirmed his last class of catechumens, and Oct. 30, 1754, when the coetus speaks of him as dead, and gives 10 pounds to his widow.

THEODORE FRANKENFELD.

He was born at Herborn, November 25, 1727, and was the son of Nicolas Herbert Frankenfeld, treasurer of the town of Herborn. He studied at Herborn, where he entered the fifth class of the Latin school, April 26, 1736, and, April 27, 1741, the second class. After his arrival in America he was assigned to the Frederick, Maryland, charge. But although he arrived in Pennsylvania in the fall of 1752, he did not arrive at Frederick until May,

1753, on account of high water. Schlatter then accompanied him and installed him there. He was present each year at the coetus up to June 15, 1756, when his name disappears. His records in the baptismal book at Frederick also stop about that date, October, 1756, so that he was probably too ill to attend the coetus, and he died that year. Lischy praises him in a letter to Holland, "that he was ever ready for good counsel, and had won all hearts in his congregation by his peaceful disposition. Steubing, one of the historians of the Reformed Church of Nassau in Germany, tells the story that Frankenfeld sent for his mother to come to America. She started with her children, one of whom was a student, but the ship on which they sailed was shipwrecked, and they all were lost.

JOHN CASPER RUBEL.

He was born at Wald, in the county of Berg, in the region of the northern Rhine, and matriculated May 20, 1737, at Marburg University. Stoy says Rubel had also been educated at Herborn. His attention was called to Pennsylvania by the Appeal published by Schlatter. When he applied to the deputies, he was a member of the classis of Solingen, along the northern Rhine, and his church membership was given as at Friemersheim. He was examined, April 6, 1752, and gave evidences of ability and of Reformed orthodoxy, and, like the other young men who came with Schlatter, he subscribed the Holland

creeds. His later controversy with Schlatter has already been given.*

HENRY WILLIAM STOY.

He was born on March 14, 1726, at Herborn, the youngest son of John George Stoy, a tailor at Herborn. He studied at Herborn, 1741, and became a candidate of theology, September 15, 1749. With the other four young men from Nassau he went with Schlatter to Holland, where, with Waldschmidt and Frankenfeld, he was examined by the deputies and excelled in the examination. He was ordained for the work in Pennsylvania, March 14, 1752. After his arrival in America he was assigned to Tulpehocken. During his stay at Tulpehocken he was not well, being affected by the fevers incident to new settlements, and he seriously thought of returning to Europe again. But the coetus of 1756 assigned him to Philadelphia as a supply, and his health improved, so he wrote to the Holland deputies, September 30, 1757, that he had finally decided to remain in Pennsylvania. He would have been well able to sustain himself in the Philadelphia congregation, for he had sufficient ability. But his unfortunate marriage with "a stocking weaver's daughter," the daughter of Frederick Maus, one of his members, caused a good deal of dissatisfaction in the congregation, although his elders stood by

* See Chapter IV., Section VIII., page 412.

him. The deputies requested him in 1757 to remain until they could send some one to fill his place at Philadelphia. He resigned and went to Lancaster in October, 1758. During these years he acted as clerk of coetus and wrote long Latin letters to the Holland fathers. In them he was very severe against Steiner and his acceptance of the Philadelphia congregation after Stoy left. Indeed, the Holland deputies think he was rather too severe in his language against Steiner. He resigned at Lancaster in January, 1763. At Lancaster he revealed a good deal of activity, thus in seven months up to May, 1760, he had baptized one hundred and received forty into the Church by profession of faith. He also preached at Pequea once a month.

He resigned from Lancaster in January, 1763, and went back to Europe. He arrived in Holland before May 19, 1763, when he came into contact with the commissioners of the classis of Amsterdam. He went to Herborn and studied medicine privately under Professor John Adam Hoffman. The classis of Amsterdam reported that he attended their meeting, May 3, 1763. It has been stated that he studied at Leyden, but the matriculation books do not reveal his presence there. On November 5, 1767, he wrote to Holland that he had returned to Pennsylvania, that he had several calls, but concluded to accept Tulpehocken (the present Host church). He, however complained that the coetus would not recognize him as a mem-

ber, and appeals to the deputies and the classis to compel them to do so. The deputies inquired in 1770 of the coetus why Stoy was not reported as a member of the coetus. In their minutes of the coetus, October, 1771, they reply that they might wish to have him a member, but they were not able to do so, and they think his membership would cause more injury than good among them. Indeed they charge him with having been a stirrer up of strife before. (We suppose they refer to his quarrel with Steiner.) The deputies were, however, not satisfied with this explanation, and again wrote to the coetus, expressing their desire that he be received as a member. The coetus replied to this as before, but added that he had been a cause of strife among them before, and that that year, just before a meeting of the coetus, he had attacked the coetus in a public paper in an article, and he had sent a circular to all the ministers filled with sharp thrusts. (He seems, however, to have left the Host church by 1773, for that congregation applies to coetus for a minister.) He accused coetus of conspiring against the liberty of the members, and thus he fostered an independent spirit in the church.* "It is said," says Rev. Dr. Dubbs, "that he preached in white clothes for fear of being mistaken for the blackcoats (ministers)." He was an independent Reformed minister the rest of his life.

After he left the coetus he seems to have gone into

* He did not originate this independent spirit, as Harbaugh says, for it was in the Church long before, as in the case of Goetschi and his successors.

politics in addition to his practise of medicine. In 1779, during the Revolution, he published a letter addressed to Joseph Reed, president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, on "The Present Mode of Taxation." It was dated December 17, 1779.* Stoy has the honor of being the first single tax man in this country, although he meant by single tax something different from what is meant now. Still he gave great prominence to land in his system. Stoy, however, thought himself to be a statesman, and allowed himself to be elected a member of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1784. He wrote frequently on political subjects for the newspapers.

But he was most prominent as a physician, and was everywhere known as Dr. Stoy. He discovered a famous cure for hydrophobia, still known by his name. He also prepared a popular medicine known as Stoy's drops. He also was active in introducing the system of inoculation

* He prefaced this by objecting very strenuously to a man taking an oath, which was really against himself, and thus raising the tax. His plan was to have all the property, whether real estate, houses or factories, put into different classes. (Young men should not be taxed, but instead should attend to militia duty.) The taxation should be divided into different classes. The single tax was what the state would ordinarily need for its expenses. When, however, there was an unusual expense, the double tax could be assessed, or, if necessary, the triple. But every man would be assessed according to the valuation of his properties above made, which would always be the same. This, he said, would save the use of assessors, an office always likely to be abused. It would have the advantage of an eternal law of taxation. Each man could then go, of his own accord, yearly and pay his taxes, as he always knew what they were. This is a very beautiful theory, but not practicable, because the values of properties are continually changing.

for small pox, although there was a great deal of prejudice against this as an effort to thwart providence. He was very fond of hunting, and when he would cross the Blue Mountains to preach, he would go on a Friday so as to spend Saturday in shooting. As he was a fine marksman he had much success. He strongly sympathized with the patriots in the Revolution, was greatly interested in natural sciences, and spent much of his time in preaching against the Deists. We fear it was more apologetical than evangelistic. He tried to train one of his sons to be a Nazarite,—to let his hair grow, to abstain from drink, and not to attend a funeral or go where there was a corpse. He thought that thereby the son would grow up as strong as a Samson. But he did not succeed in this. He died at Lebanon, September 14, 1801, and was buried at the Host church. A good criticism of his preaching was made by the Moravians in the diary of the Hebron church near Lebanon: "In his sermons he is very philosophical, deep and expatiating, which obscures and taints even the evangelical doctrines, which he at times propounds." He was a kind son, as he ordered the deputies repeatedly to send part of his salary to his parents, 1754. He was probably the first member of the coetus to begin the instruction privately of young men for the ministry, a plan afterwards pursued by Hendel, Weyberg and others with great success. In 1756 he began giving lessons to a young man named Bonner, and the coetus acts of 1757 say Bonner is

still "courting the Muses" under Stoy. The deputies grant their permission to this provided it does not interfere with his pastoral work.

JOHN WALDSCHMIDT.

He was born at Dillenburg, August 6, 1724, a son of John Henry Waldschmidt. He studied at Herborn University. His opportunities for an education were limited, he having obtained a chance for it only after being twenty years of age. Hence he was perhaps less well educated than the rest who came over with him. He went with Schlatter to Holland, where he was examined and ordained by the deputies, March 14, 1752. On his arrival in Pennsylvania Schlatter, who had decided to remain in the Philadelphia congregation, expected to keep Waldschmidt with him as his assistant, but the opposition of that congregation to Schlatter's return as pastor prevented this from being carried out. So he was assigned to the Muddy Creek charge. At the coetus of October 18, 1752, he asked what he was to do about the independent Reformed minister, Frederick Casimir Miller, who disturbed his charge. Coetus told him to go on preaching, as nothing else could be done until the Lord took this hindrance out of the way. After Stoy left Tulpehocken, he was appointed to supply his charge and also Reading. He wrote to the deputies, November 22, 1752, very bitterly warning them against the coetus for ordaining uneducated men (he probably referred to the case of his neighbor, Tempelman, who

had preached at Muddy Creek before him). In 1756, September 13, he ordered the deputies to pay 100 gulden of the money sent to Pennsylvania to his mother for his education. But by 1760 some complaints begin to come in to coetus against him that he was not diligent in house visitation. In 1763 he preached at Berne and Cacusi. He seems to have left Muddy Creek by 1770, and in 1771 Heidelberg church, Berks county, brought complaints against his ministry for slowness and negligence, and so the love of the congregations had grown cold, and he left. He continued to serve some congregations in eastern Lancaster county, as Swamp, and in western Berks county until his death, September 14, 1786. A curious incident occurred several years later. On Sunday, June 2, 1793, while a large congregation at the Swamp church, Lancaster county, where he was buried, was engaged in worship, suddenly the tombstone of Waldschmidt broke off at the top of the ground and fell flat on his tomb. The wonder was increased because his widow, who had become insane long before and had not spoken a word for years, began to speak on that day.

B.—Ministers Raised up by the Coetus.

JOHN CONRAD TEMPELMAN.

He was not really a new minister, as he was one of the first preachers in Pennsylvania, still, as he was not received into the coetus till 1752, we place him here. His earlier

ministry has been previously given.* He attended the coetus of 1749 as a candidate for the ministry. The deputies, while Schlatter was in Holland, ordered his ordination. And when Schlatter returned to Pennsylvania, Tempelman was examined by the coetus of 1752, passing an unusually good examination in the sciences. He was ordained by Schlatter at that meeting of coetus, October 21, 1752. He enlarged his field, preaching at Swatara. He was present at the coetus of 1753, 1754 and 1755. In 1757 he is absent because of defective eyesight, on account of which he is no longer able to serve his congregations. In 1760 he is reported stone-blind, and preaching seldom, and in his own house. Some of the aged members of the Swamp church remember seeing him led up into the pulpit to preach after he was blind. It is said he spent his last years with his sister, Mrs. Brunner, and died about 1761. He was buried about four miles southeast of Lebanon at a place called Tempelman's Hill, near which he used to live. He was a pious man and did excellent work for the Church, and he still lives in blessed memory in the churches around Lebanon.

JONATHAN DUBOIS.

We know nothing of his early life except that he was educated for the ministry under Dorsius and two Presbyterian ministers. When a young man he together with David Marinus (who afterwards went into the Dutch Re-

* See page 108.

formed Church as pastor at Aquackanonck and Pompton Plains) appeared before Schlatter, October 28, 1748, and asked whether he could be examined by coetus for the ministry. Unfortunately the coetus for that year had just closed its session, and so he had to wait till the next year. In 1752 the deputies decided favorably, and when the coetus of 1752 met, he with Tempelman was examined, and he excelled in the languages. He was ordained, October 21, by Schlatter as president. He had before this acted as Schlatter's amanuensis, and in copying his early journal, assisted him as much as seven times. It is also likely that during the meantime he acted as a supply of Dorsius' vacant congregation, to which he was afterward called as pastor. In the controversies which afterward followed in the coetus, he was ever the devoted friend of Schlatter. He suggested at the coetus of 1756 that, like the Presbyterians, four days be kept as days of fasting and prayer in view of the Indian wars.

In 1758 he asked to be dismissed to the coetus of New York, giving as a reason that he could not understand the German language, and that especially his elders found it difficult to understand it at the coetus. He seems to have changed his mind, for he remained in the coetus until his death. In 1762 he was made president of the coetus. At the coetus of 1772 he presented the claims of the new college in New Jersey started by the Dutch Reformed, and asked that it be recommended to the congregations,

which was done. He died before the coetus held October 27, 1773, as it speaks of his death. His congregation afterwards called a pastor for the Dutch coetus of New York and left the Pennsylvania coetus, and has ever since been a part of the Dutch Reformed Church of America.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION XIII.

THE INDEPENDENTS.

FREDERICK CASIMIR MILLER.

He was from Stetichein, near Mayence, where he had been school-teacher. He came to America before 1744. Schlatter found him as a school-teacher at Goshenhoppen, where he had been teaching and preaching before Weiss returned from New York state, and he gave Weiss a great deal of trouble in his field. Schlatter says he was the only one of the independent ministers who had not expressed a wish to submit himself to the Holland Church. Indeed he antagonized the Holland Church. He had about ten or a dozen small congregations in and around Oley. And in New Goshenhoppen about eighteen heads of families were with him, while Weiss had thirty. Miller traveled around during the week trying to prejudice the German people against Schlatter and the Church of Holland by saying that if they submitted to it they would give up their freedom and come into intolerable bondage. Schlatter had him come to him, September 23, 1746, at Oley, and in the presence of Weiss proposed that he allow the Holland synods to have him ordained if he would submit to them, and then be regularly installed as pastor of a charge. The

condition was that he no longer administer the sacraments or perform marriages until Schlatter had gained the sanction of the Holland deputies. Miller seems to have agreed to this, but the next Sunday he broke the agreement by baptizing, and by announcing that in four weeks he would administer the Lord's Supper. On October 19, 1746, Schlatter tried to induce his adherents at New Goshenhoppen to come over to Weiss, but in vain. Schlatter reported Miller's continued opposition to the Holland deputies, who praised him for his perseverance in holding "the obstreperous Miller" in check. When Miller, however, found that the coetus had split into two sections in 1753, he made application to the party, which favored more independence in the Church, and was led by Weiss and Steiner, to be received as a member of the coetus. It is to the credit of this coetus of 1753 that they refused to grant his request, because he was unordained and led an offensive life. He, therefore, never became a member of the coetus. He dedicated the Longswamp Reformed church in September, 1748. He was in Oley, according to Lutheran records, in 1764.*

PHILIP JACOB MICHAEL.

He was a different sort of a man from the preceding. He was born 1716, and was a weaver by trade. He began

* There was a Frederick Miller preaching at Lebanon, who is mentioned in the diary of the Moravian church as a pious man. He could hardly have been Frederick Casimir Miller, whose offensive life caused coetus to refuse him.

preaching without ordination. On July 29, 1750, he became pastor of Ziegel's congregation, Lehigh county, and dedicated their church at that time. His records on the church book reveal him to be a man of very ordinary education. Still he had a good character, and plain country people said of him, "He preaches well." He became pastor of Heidelberg congregation in 1744, when he dedicated the first church for the Reformed, and the Reformed made a contract with the Lutherans, March 28, 1745, which he signed for the Reformed. His predecessor there had been Andrew Steiger, the school-master of Lynntown, who used to come and hold religious services in the houses. He succeeded Frederick Casimir Miller at Longswamp, and was pastor there till 1753. He again became pastor there from 1763 to the end of 1774, and, when Helffrich left, again in 1780. He was pastor of the Ebenezer congregation, 1760-1770. (This congregation was also called the Organ congregation, because it had a small organ.) He was pastor of Weissenberg, 1761-1770, after Kidenweiler had left. He preached at Lowhill, September 3, 1769-1772, though he never was pastor of the church, only preaching occasionally. He founded the Jacobs congregation.

It seems he appealed to Schlatter to be examined and received into the coetus, but Schlatter not only refused, but made no report of it to Holland, or gave his reasons for it. After Schlatter had left the coetus, he again applies

to them in 1764, asking that he be admitted and stating that he had been pastor for fourteen years of the congregations in Maxatawny, and that he served twelve congregations. Coetus communicated his request to Holland and urged that he be received, but the deputies refused. The classis decided that he be compelled to come to Holland for ordination, as did the deputies, which of course was impossible. As he was becoming aged he did not press his application to coetus, and his congregations were satisfied that he should continue preaching without ordination. He became chaplain of the American Army in the Revolution, being appointed May 17, 1777. He did a quiet but good work and did not antagonize the coetus. However, in his later years he injured the church by ordaining with his own hand and alone Cyriacus Spangenberg, the adventurer, to whom coetus had refused ordination. The St. Michael's church in upper Berks county is said to be named after him, says Rev. Dr. Helffrich in his "History of the Congregations in Lehigh and Berks Counties," from whom many of the facts concerning Michael and the other independents here named are taken. Michael lived between Longswamp and DeLong's church on a knob still called "Michael's Knob."

JOHN RUDOLPH KIDENWEILER (KITTEILER).

Unlike the last two named he was a regularly ordained Reformed minister, and evidently was an acceptable preacher. He was born, January 2, 1717. He came to

Pennsylvania from Basle, and, like Lischy, was known among the people as the Swiss preacher. He qualified in Philadelphia, September 28, 1749. He went with the Swiss colony to Swiss Erick, at the upper end of Lehigh county, and preached to his countrymen for a time in the houses, and then, in 1750, he founded the Weissenburg congregation. He also served the Little Lehigh congregation after 1754, but left both of them, November, 1761, because of a controversy between him and the congregation, with, however, nothing dishonorable to himself. He had been called by middle of May, 1756, to the Longswamp congregation. In 1759 he built the Salzburg church, with George Weber, Christian Liess and Conrad Jacobi as Reformed elders. He preached at Longswamp for seven years and six months. He was called in 1763 to Great Swamp and preached there for about one year, when he died there, October 2, 1764.

JOHN HENRY DECKER.

John Henry Decker became pastor of the Cacusi church in Berks county in 1751. There is a John Henry Decker, who qualified at Philadelphia, September 14, 1751. He was pastor at Cacusi a second time, 1753-1755, and in 1759 was taxed six pounds.

JOHN EGIDIUS HECKER.

John Egidius Hecker was born at Dillenburg, January 26, 1726, the son of the ducal attendant, John Wigand Hecker. He qualified at Philadelphia, September 23,

1751, and preached without ordination. He applied to the coetus of 1752, recommended by Waldschmidt, but the coetus replied that it had not authority to ordain him, and admonished him not to preach, as he had not been ordained. As he came from Nassau, he had probably been acquainted with Nassau young men who came over with Schlatter in 1752. He preached at Tohickon and Lower Saucon. In 1758 he opened the church record at Upper Milford, where he continued until 1766, when he retired.

JACOB REISS.

Jacob Reiss was born on April 10, 1706. He was pastor at Indian Field, 1749–1753, and pastor at Goshenhoppen after Weiss' death up to 1766. He died, December 23, 1774, and was buried at Tohickon.

JOHN CASPER LAPP.

He was born at Windecken, a little town a few miles north of Hanau, where his father, Francis Lapp, was a physician. He was educated at Hanau, Offenbach and Marburg. He matriculated at Hanau gymnasium, July 27, 1740, and closed his course by going to Marburg, where he matriculated, April 16, 1744. He was ordained to the office of teacher (preacher) by order of the king of Sweden (who then ruled Hanau) at Marburg, December 20, 1744. He then served the charge at Neukirchen up to January 10, 1746, faithfully and well they say in their dismissal of him. He was then assistant to an old minis-

ter named Daniel Seel, in the county of Sayn Hachenburg, and after his death served five villages. But the position was sold through simony to another man, and so he had to leave. He became assistant minister at Rabenschied, where he labored four years, during which time he vicariated a year and a half at the court of the countess' mother of Dillenburg during the vacancies of the court preachers. He was then called to a charge in the district of Solms Hohenzollern for four years, where he became mixed up in a disturbance so that his life was threatened. He then became pastor at Niederweissel, in the Wetterau district. Their letter of April 29, 1753, says that they were well satisfied with him and wanted him to remain, but the salary was too small.

He was led to think of Pennsylvania through the five young ministers whom Schlatter took from that district. So he started for Rotterdam with his wife and two children. He arrived there, June 19, 1753, intending to present himself to the deputies to be sent to America. But as he found a vessel just about sailing on the 21st, without waiting to meet them he sailed. He landed sick at Philadelphia, October 2, 1753, with a wife and boy three years of age, evidently having lost a child on the way. He then discovered the mistake he had made in not appearing before the deputies, and being properly sent to Pennsylvania. However, Rubel welcomed him and succeeded in getting him into the charge at Amwell, N. J. He had been called

before to Rhinebeck, N. Y., but had refused, as he did not think the place suitable. He says he was the first to give Amwell regular preaching, as before it had been served only a few times a year by ministers from Philadelphia. In the Rubel controversy he wrote to Holland in favor of Rubel and against Schlatter. He seems to think that Schlatter had probably not mentioned this congregation to Holland. In this he is mistaken. But he tells the story about Schlatter, that on one occasion for trivial causes he ran out of the pulpit, declaring he would not preach any more. But after a half or a quarter of an hour he came back again and preached. But the majority had left the church. Lapp says he was installed over his congregation by Frelinghuysen, of the Raritan. He wrote a very earnest appeal to the deputies in April 1, 1756, asking for financial aid, as his salary was small. They replied to him that as they had no money they would not be able to help him, although they sympathized with him. He was one upon whom Rubel relied to build a new coetus.

CHAPTER V.

THE COETUS UP TO THE REVOLUTION.

SECTION I.

THE REFORMED IN CIVIL AFFAIRS.

The Reformed played an important part in the making of America, although their share in it has been forgotten, as they have not blown their trumpets as loudly as some other denominations. Nevertheless their work is becoming more generally recognized. Although fears were expressed by the British about the Germans of Pennsylvania, lest they might join the French in case of a war between England and France, yet the Germans never thought of such a thing. They were too thankful to England for offering an asylum to them from their persecutions, and they had been foes of France too long to join them. When they arrived at Pennsylvania they qualified or took the oath of allegiance to the king of England. When Morris was appointed governor of Pennsylvania, the Reformed ministers of the coetus presented him, November 2, 1754, a memorial, assuring him of their adherence to the king. It was signed by Waldschmidt, Frankenfeld, DuBois, Tempelman, Steiner, Schlatter, Rieger, Weiss, Leydich, Lischy,

Otterbein and Stoy. On November they with all the Germans presented a memorial to him, among whose signers were a number of Reformed. Morris replied to this that he would try to stop the rumors afloat about their defection to France, and promised to protect them to the best of his ability.

When the French and Indian war broke out the Germans were a most important element in Pennsylvania for the British. For the Quakers opposed war, and the brunt of it fell on the Germans, who were settled largely along the borders. They sprang to arms. During the war the border congregations suffered a good deal, as the charges at Easton, on the Lehigh, Lynn, Tulpehocken, Frederick, Md., and Winchester, Va. Steiner in his letter of 1757 says he visited the Reformed around Winchester and noted how they were afraid to attend religious services, and had deserted their homes and lived in miserable forts for protection. He preached at a certain place where a month before seven had been killed by Indians and fourteen carried away captive. Stoy in his letter of September 30, 1757, says that most of the inhabitants of the Tulpehocken district had either fled or been killed or taken prisoners. The Indians, he says, were more savage than wolves, tigers or lions. He says we have lost some of our congregations partly or wholly. The place where Wissler labored along the Lehigh was pillaged and robbed of its inhabitants. The Ebenezer congregation in Lehigh county suffered very

much because the Indian trail passed the mountains near it. Some there in fleeing, like the Zeissloff family, were murdered. Often the men of the house went to bed with a loaded gun and an axe by their bedside to defend themselves if necessary, says Helffrich. On July 15, 1757, there appeared an appeal in the *Philadelphia Zeitung* for funds for the people along the borders who were impoverished by war. Among the signers ready to receive donations were Leydich and Otterbein. The Reformed congregation at Providence held a day of confession of sin and of fasting because of the war, and took up a collection for the sufferers. The coetus of 1757, at the suggestion of DuBois, following the example of the Presbyterians, appointed four days that year as days of fasting and prayer in view of the war.

But the most interesting public character among the Reformed of this period was Colonel Henry Lewis Bouquet. He was the most prominent Reformed officer before the Revolution—the Washington of the age before Washington. He was born at Rolle, in southern Switzerland, in 1719, and educated at Lausanne. He united with the Reformed church of his native place, March 25, 1735. The next year, at the age of seventeen, he entered the Dutch service as a cadet of the regiment of Constant, and in two years rose to the rank of ensign. He then entered the service of the king of Sardinia, where he distinguished himself as lieutenant and adjutant. His reports, so clear,

scientific and truthful, attracted the attention of the prince of Orange, who won him back to the Dutch service and made him (1748) lieutenant colonel in a regiment of the Swiss guards at the Hague. But peace having been declared, he a few months later in company with an English nobleman, Lord Middleton, made a tour through France and Italy. Returning to the Hague he continued his mathematical and military studies with great success. When the French and Indian war broke out in America, England decided to raise a corps called the royal Americans (of four battalions having each a thousand soldiers), composed of the foreign settlers. Bouquet was appointed lieutenant colonel, and sailed for America in 1756.

Here Bouquet took part in two expeditions against the Indians, both in Pennsylvania against Fort Pitt or Pittsburg. The first was the expedition under General Forbes, sent out in 1758. Bouquet commanded the first division and Washington the second. Washington wanted to go by the old Braddock route, so as to favor Virginia land interests. Bouquet, looking at it from a strategic standpoint, wanted a new and direct route. Forbes decided for Bouquet's plan. Forbes was carried on a litter through the campaign and died soon after. The French abandoned Fort Pitt.

In 1763 Bouquet was again sent in command of an expedition to relieve Fort Pitt, surrounded by Indians. It was generally expected that this expedition would meet

the fate of Braddock. If he had been defeated, it would have left Pennsylvania at the mercy of the Indians. He started out with about five hundred British soldiers, many of them sick, so that sixty had to be carried in wagons. By July 25 he had reached Fort Bedford on the frontier. Then he pushed westward, and at the defile of the Turtle Creek he was (August 5) most fiercely attacked by the enemy. His soldiers were wearied by a seventeen mile march. But they quickly formed a hollow square, in which they placed their wagons and horses. A running fire was kept up the rest of the day. The next morning with a thousand yells the Indians rushed in on all sides on them. The soldiers were suffering terribly from thirst, but fought bravely. A desperate effort had to be made to save the army. Bouquet then pretended to retreat, and thus drew the Indians into an ambuscade, in which they received so deadly a charge from the regulars that they fled in haste. Thus what threatened to be a Braddock's defeat became a Bouquet's victory. For this victory at Bushy Run he was publicly thanked by the assembly of Pennsylvania, and the king promoted him to be a brigadier general. Bouquet having captured Fort Pitt, carried the campaign into Ohio, where he broke up the dangerous Pontiac conspiracy. He became the idol of the foreign population of Pennsylvania. An officer wrote to him that the people rejoiced more at his promotion than if the gov-

ernment had repealed the stamp act.* No name was more fondly cherished by the Germans of that time than his, for by his victory he had saved many of them from the tomahawk of the Indians. Perhaps his most delightful duty was to gather back from the Indians those who had been taken captive. Very touching were the scenes at Carlisle, where the parents and friends came to seek for the lost. One of these, Regina Hartman, was led to recognize her mother by the latter's singing the familiar German hymn "Alone, yet not alone am I," which she had heard in her girlhood before captivity.

Bouquet bought a tract of 400 acres near Hagerstown, Md., intending to colonize it with Swiss and Germans, when he was sent to Pensacola by the British government to defend it against the Indians. He arrived there, August 23, 1765, but soon fell a victim of yellow fever and died, September 2, 1765. Had he lived Washington would have had to look out for his laurels. It has been suggested that the British government sent him south because with his military fame and republican antecedents in Switzerland, he might become a leader of the discontented in the colonies. But this is not likely, as he died so long before the Revolution. But there is no question where he would have stood had he lived. Swiss love of freedom prepared for American battle for freedom. And as he would have

* Dr. William Smith published A historical Account of his Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764, which gained him great popularity in England.

been an officer senior to Washington, with larger fame and experience, he might probably have been elected general of the armies of the Revolution, and thus have become the hero of the Revolution and the father of his country.*

* See the excellent monographs by Rev. C. Cort, D. D., "The Enoch Brown Monument Dedication," Lancaster, 1886, and "Colonel Henry Bouquet and his Campaigns," Lancaster, 1883. Also his articles in the Reformed Church Magazine for June and July, 1894.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION II.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONGREGATION.

Schlatter and Rubel having both left the Philadelphia congregation, it was hoped that peace would come. But now the congregation began to experience a difficulty in finding a suitable pastor. Steiner supplied the congregation with preaching for some time. Meanwhile the deputies in Holland tried to find a minister for this important church. They thought they had found a suitable person in Rev. Christopher Muntz.* He was appointed by the deputies, October 29, 1754, to go to Pennsylvania. It seems, however, that contrary to the deputies' expectations he did not start for America till April, 1755, because he had been sick. Then he went to London, where he was aided by the Charity society for the Germans. He then sailed, but died on the voyage to America, so that the hopes of the congregation for him as pastor were disappointed.

Since the deputies had failed to supply the pulpit in Philadelphia with a pastor, the coetus of 1756 felt itself called upon to do so, and requested Stoy to act as supply,

* He had been licensed in 1729 and appointed chaplain of a Westerwald regiment, July 1, 1734. He had been pastor at Neukirchen, 1750-1754.

as he was inclined to leave Tulpehocken, because he had been ill, and also because of the Indian incursions in that district. The congregation accepted him by the year. He had the ability to sustain himself there, but his unfortunate marriage caused quite a strong party to be formed in the congregation against him, although the elders of the congregation desired to retain him. He left and went to Lancaster, October, 1758, and the congregation was again without a pastor. Many of them had desired to have Alsentz, who had lately arrived from Europe, and who was pastor at Germantown, but he declined because of the dissensions among them. It happened that a Dutch minister, John William Kals, had arrived at Philadelphia with letters of recommendation from the Charity society of London. At first it was rumored that the congregation had called him, but it was afterwards denied. He stayed with them for about six weeks, and then left, taking the congregation at Amwell, N. J. Many in the congregation were opposed to him because he had no recommendations from the deputies.

The congregation then began making overtures to Steiner again. There had all along been a strong party in the congregation who were friendly to him. He had left Germantown in 1756 and had gone to Frederick. But this charge was on the frontier, and besides was of very large extent. It covered with all its preaching points a territory, it is said, 160 miles long by 60 miles wide.

Steiner claimed that in order to go around it he had to travel 300 miles, and that during his pastorate he had traveled 5000 miles. He desired to get away, as he was in middle life, and the work was too hard for him. He arranged with the elders of the Philadelphia congregation that when he came to Philadelphia to release his son from military service in the winter of February, 1759, he should preach for them two Sundays. They elected him as pastor, May 1, 1759, offering him \$96 a year. He began his pastorate, May 20, 1759. But for this act he was severely criticised by the members of the coetus. Otterbein wrote him on August 18, 1759, a very severe letter, stating that he did not think providence had called him to Philadelphia, and moreover he should have waited to get permission from coetus. Steiner replied that he had done just what others had done before—accepted a charge without waiting for coetus to decide on it. Steiner went to the coetus of 1759 at Goshenhoppen, but was so severely attacked there by Stoy that he left. Indeed, Stoy's report of that coetus to the Holland deputies is little more than a philippic against Steiner for going to Philadelphia, and the deputies wrote back that he was too severe. Steiner and his congregation therefore withdrew from the coetus, although he appealed to Holland, September 28, 1759, to confirm the call, as the congregation did not desire to leave the Holland fathers. They decided against him, that as he had withdrawn from the coetus, he must lose his share

in the Holland donations, but required him to be paid out of them up to the date of his departure from Frederick. His ministry at Philadelphia seems to have been quite successful, for he claimed that his audiences had increased so much that a hundred more seats had to be placed in the church, and the congregation had paid off \$750 of its debt. Soon after his arrival he published a sermon on the death of King George II. of England, which he preached, October 25, 1760, on Deuteronomy 34: 5, 7-8, and published, February 1, 1761, entitled "A proper Monument of Love and Honor to the all-gracious King worthy of Glory." It is an elaborate eulogy, comparing the king to Moses, and reveals Steiner as a very careful thinker and fine preacher. During his pastorate he drew up a set of resolutions for the parochial school at Philadelphia.* But although his ministry was successful, yet he complains of little fruit, for there seems to have been a minority in the congregation against him composed of Stoy's friends. He seems to have overworked himself, preaching generally three times a Sunday. He suddenly died on Tuesday, July 6, 1762. On the Sunday before his death he had preached on the text, "O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee, my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land where no water is." Psalm 63: 1. Muhlenberg preached his funeral sermon on Acts 20: 25

* See "History of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia" by Rev. D. Van Horne, D. D., page 32.

-38. The day of the funeral was insufferably hot, and a thunder storm came up as they were proceeding to the grave. He was buried in the Reformed graveyard at Franklin Square.

At the time of his death he was busy at the publication of a series of sermons. He intended to publish four volumes of them for circulation among the Germans, only one of which appeared after his death, entitled "The Glorious Appearing of the Lord to the General Judgment of the World." It contained eighteen sermons, followed by Muhlenberg's funeral sermon, and closing with a brief sketch of his life. His sermons reveal him a careful writer and an earnest preacher. Doubtless he was a fine pulpit orator. Unfortunately his tendencies to independency and polemics, and his lack of executive ability in the management of his finances interfered with his usefulness.

The congregation being independent of the coetus, fell into the hands of an independent minister, Rev. Frederick Rothenbuhler. He had been born and educated at Berne, where he had been ordained, February 28, 1752. He seems to have left Berne with a letter dated December 16, 1759, recommending him to the Holland Church. In 1761 he was in London, which he left after September 16, 1761. He had been preaching to a Reformed congregation in New York when the Philadelphia congregation called him, July 30, 1762. But by the time the coetus of 1763 met on May 5, a large part of his congregation had already

learned his unworthy character. They had before this wanted to be rid of the coetus, but now they were glad to invoke its authority to enable them to get rid of Rothenbuhler. Two elders of the congregation appeared before the coetus, asking that the congregation be taken back under its care, so that it might decide for the consistory against Rothenbuhler. Rothenbuhler also appeared and asked to be received into the coetus. The coetus decided that although the congregation did not belong to it, yet as it appealed to it, it would give a decision. The congregation appealed to coetus to decide for them on a constitutional point, namely, whether according to their call their congregation had a right to dismiss him when they wanted. This he denied. It was the very point Schlatter and the coetus denied years before, and the consistory stood against him. Coetus, however, now declared against their former position, and decided from the wording of the call to him that the congregation had the right to dismiss him at will. Indeed to this he had agreed when he accepted by signing his name to the call. The coetus refused to accept him as a member, as they had been warned against him by the Holland fathers. As they published their action, Rothenbuhler on June 30, 1763, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* a protest against it, asking all readers to suspend judgment till he could reply. As they declare that they had refused him because of rumors against him abroad, he on August 4 published his testimonials which he had re-

ceived from the ministers of Berne, his birthplace, and also the testimonials from the Reformed ministers of London, among them Planta. The coetus replied to him in the same paper, August 18, defending them by his conduct abroad and also his conduct in Philadelphia. Rothenbuhler, therefore, separated from the Philadelphia congregation, taking with him his adherents. They organized an independent Reformed congregation, calling it St. George's, and took a lot on Fourth street near New. There they began building a costly new church, far beyond their means. As some of the members were personally responsible for it, they were thrown in prison for debt. When their acquaintances, as they looked in on them, asked of them why they were there, they replied that they had been put in jail for building a church. Rothenbuhler tried to raise some money for the building, and went to Boston for that purpose, having a letter of introduction from Franklin, May 24, 1764. The congregation then appealed to the Episcopal Church to save them. A petition was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, dated October 21, 1764. In it they agreed that after Easter, 1766, none but Episcopal ministers should officiate in their church, and nothing be used but the Episcopal prayer book, and they recommend Rothenbuhler to be their pastor after he had been ordained by the bishop. They state that their debt is over \$5000, for which the houses of many of the petitioners were heavily

mortgaged. This petition was signed by twenty of the members. Nothing seems to have come out of this petition, and the building was sold, June 12, 1770, to a Mr. Hockley for \$3500, and by him sold to the Methodists for \$2500. It is now the oldest Methodist church building in America. Rothenbuhler meanwhile died of the fever and was buried in the Reformed cemetery in Franklin Square, August 9, 1766.

While these events were taking place, the old congregation began looking around for a pastor. Otterbein soon came into their mind. They began corresponding with him as soon as coetus decided against Rothenbuhler, and wrote to him, May 24. He replied that he would preach for them, June 26. But although located in a weak charge at Frederick on the frontier, he was unwilling to leave, especially as he was about building a church. He hoped Leydich might be gotten to Frederick; if not, he would ask them to wait until the next year (1764). Meanwhile, the members felt they were losing ground by being without a pastor, especially as Rothenbuhler had built a fine new church and drew away adherents of the old church. So they said they could not wait for him.

A committee of coetus, consisting of Stapel, Alsentz and DuBois, met at Philadelphia, October 24, 1763, and considered the matter. They proposed three alternatives to the congregation. They could either wait for Otterbein or extend a call to a Swiss pastor at Arnheim, Holland, named Anosi (of whom the deputies had spoken as being

willing to come to America), or they could choose a minister from among those in the coetus, and recommended them to choose between Leydich, Waldschmidt and Weyberg, the latter having just arrived the previous year. The congregation decided on the latter method. So a meeting of the congregation was held on October 25, at which Weyberg was elected. He entered on his duties, November 13, 1763. It was a wise choice. He proved to be the man to bring this sorely afflicted congregation, divided for so many years, out of their troubles, and make them one of the strongest congregations in Philadelphia, as well as the most influential in the coetus. After their quarrels of fourteen years, the congregation entered on an era of peace and prosperity that lasted for about a half a century. Under his pastorate they built a new church building. The corner-stone was laid, April 10, 1772, and it was dedicated, May 1, 1774, in the presence of the governor and the coetus. It was fortunate for the congregation that they built this building when they did. For had they waited a year later, the Revolutionary troubles would have prevented its being built. But by building what was perhaps the largest church building in Philadelphia (for Weyberg reports 2000 seats in it), its size gave the Reformed a prominence in Philadelphia during the Revolution second to no other denomination. The troubles and struggles of this congregation in the first half century of its existence were forgotten in the prosperity and prominence of its second half century.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION III.

THE MEMBERS OF THE COETUS.

The additions to the ministry of the coetus came from two sources :

1. The ministers sent from Holland by the deputies.
2. The ministers raised up by the coetus from its own congregations in America.

A.—The Ministers Sent From Holland.

The deputies and also the classis of Amsterdam earnestly sought, as their funds allowed, for ministers to go to Pennsylvania. They repeatedly wrote to the universities of Heidelberg and Herborn and elsewhere for candidates. The ministers they sent over were as follows :

1755.

CHRISTOPHER MUNTZ.*

1757.

JOHN GEORGE ALSENTZ.

He was licensed at Heidelberg by the Reformed consistory, May 10, 1756, and ordained, June 1, 1756. He was in Amsterdam in the early part of 1757 for quite a time, for by his many excellent sermons and fine social

* See the previous section, page 531.

qualities he endeared himself to quite a number of the ministers there, and preached very acceptably for Rev. Mr. Kessler. They, therefore, urged him to go to Pennsylvania. He appeared before the classis, April 21, 1757. They sent him to the deputies with a recommendation from Rev. Mr. Kulenkamp. He appeared before the deputies for examination, May 24, 1757. There seems to have been some friction between the classis and deputies as to the right of examination and ordination, but the classis gave way to the deputies, who ever after attended to the appointment of ministers to Pennsylvania. He was then sent by the deputies, leaving after June 17. He was in London, August 13, where he was very kindly received by the Charity society and Rev. Dr. Chandler, who paid his passage to America. After he started from England, his vessel was compelled to put back because of a storm. He arrived at Philadelphia, December 3, 1757. A short time after his arrival he was placed in charge of the congregation at Germantown. He might have had the Philadelphia congregation, but he was afraid of its divisions. He soon rose to prominence in the coetus. He was appointed its clerk in 1759, 1760, 1763 and 1765, and was its president in 1761 and 1764. In 1761 he went back to Europe on account of family affairs. He appeared before the classis at Amsterdam, February 4, 1762, on his way to his native Palatinate, and promised them to look up young ministers to go to Pennsylvania. He recom-

mended to them three young men, who, however, did not come. He found when he arrived at his former home that his father had died, and he was detained in order to settle up the estate. He returned to Pennsylvania in 1762, arriving at Germantown, September 27. In that year the Germantown congregation spent \$1200 in rebuilding its church. In his report to the Holland deputies he complained about the lowness of his salary, but said he preferred suffering to complaining. He was a very active man. Together with Leydich he revived the Skippack congregation, and dedicated their church, November 13, 1763. He supplied Amwell in 1760. He dedicated the Tohickon church, May 8, 1766. In September, 1763, he made a trip to Virginia to preach for the pastorless Reformed there, which took three weeks, and in which he covered 200 miles. He returned just in time for the coetus of that year. In 1767 he is reported to the coetus as sick. He died, October 28, 1767. He was a man of fine ability and earnest consecration. He published a small book entitled, "Why am I Reformed." His son was after his death sent by the Charity society to the Academy, now the University of Pennsylvania.

1761.

CASPER MICHAEL STAPEL.

He had been a Lutheran minister in the county of Mecklenberg, Germany. He left the Lutheran ministry and studied at Herborn University, from which he appeals

to the Holland deputies for aid, June 21, 1758. He was recommended to them by Rev. Mr. Engels, of the Hague. The classis of Amsterdam asked for delay in his appointment, because of some fears lest the fact that his wife was a Lutheran and he had been a Lutheran would militate against his success among the Reformed. His wife absolutely refused to become Reformed or to go with him to America. He was examined by the deputies, July 10, 1761, especially on the doctrinal differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed, and was appointed to Pennsylvania. He went by way of London. There he demanded money of Chandler, as he said he had lost his baggage on ship. Chandler was offended at his demand, and refused. Stapel wrote back to the classis of Amsterdam about the unkind treatment by the Charity society. Chandler also wrote, explaining the matter. And classis replied that they had not given Stapel any authority to demand money of the Charity society. He came to America by way of Maryland. When he arrived he went at once to the congregation at Amwell, N. J., which had called him when in Europe. He at once took an active part in the coetus, and was its clerk (1762). Indeed, he took almost too active a part for so new a man, for he managed the case against Rieger at the next coetus of 1762. He was made president, 1763. His ministry at first was quite successful. He had large ingatherings. In 1762 he received eighty-four into the church, and baptized

sixty-four children. But there is a tone of boastfulness in his letters hardly borne out by the facts. Thus he wrote to the deputies that he hoped to make New Jersey German Reformed, although there was at that time only one charge in it. But the most of his correspondence with Holland was about his wife, who refused to come to Pennsylvania. He wrote to them to compel her to come. They wrote to her, and he sends a power of attorney to compel her to come. But still she refused. He wanted to know whether as she had been separated so long he could not marry again. The classis replied (1764), not until he had been legally divorced. Meanwhile complaints began to come in against him in his congregation. The coetus of 1765 says he had withdrawn from its membership and begun the practice of medicine, for he was, it is said, a fine chemist. But he did not live long. He died, March, 1766, of consumption. While at Amwell, he published Lampe's catechism, "The Milk of Truth," with the approval of the coetus. As a student of Herborn, he was naturally friendly to Lampe's federal Calvinistic predestinarianism. He had the degree of doctor of philosophy.

1762.

CASPER DIEDRICH WEYBERG.

Casper Diedrich Weyberg was not from Switzerland, as Harbaugh says. He was born at Westofen, in the county of Mark, in Westphalia, Germany. He matricu-

lated at the Reformed university at Duisburg, October 15, 1756. In 1761 he made application to the deputies to be sent to America, as he wanted to leave his congregation on account of lack of financial support. On July 20 Deputy De Rhoer stated that Weyberg had called on him at Amsterdam. He was appointed by the deputies, September 8, 1761, but he delayed his going. It seems he returned to his native country, and his wife refused to go with him. He also seems to have had financial difficulties. But on April 1, 1762, the deputies get out of patience and require him to be in Holland within six weeks. He started out with his wife and child and went as far as London, when his wife turned back. He, however, went on and arrived at Philadelphia either the latter part of 1762 or early in 1763. He began his ministry at Easton, March 7, 1763, where he preached with great acceptance, so that the neighboring Lehigh charge wanted him to supply them also. The Easton charge was greatly disappointed that he resigned, October 8, 1763, to accept the call to Philadelphia, and protested against it. They claimed that they had paid toward his traveling expenses forty-one pounds, had bought a parsonage, and had raised his salary from fifty to seventy-five pounds, and now he was torn away from them by the coetus for Philadelphia. His wife did not come to Pennsylvania till somewhere in 1764, after he had become pastor in Philadelphia. His pastorate there was very successful. He brought the congregation to a

prosperity never known there before. The college of New Jersey gave him the title of Doctor of Divinity. He died, August 21, 1790, and was buried in the Reformed cemetery in Franklin Square. The funeral sermon was preached by his friend, Rev. Dr. Helmuth, of the Lutheran Church, who also composed a hymn sung at a service, September 26, 1790. Dr. Van Horne says he was a tall, slim man with a powerful voice, always carrying his Bible under his arm when going to church. He also educated a number of young men for the ministry. He became one of the leaders of the coetus, was its clerk in 1764 and 1781, and its president in 1765 and 1782.

1764.

JOHN WILLIAM HENDEL.

We come now to the most beautiful spiritual character in the early Church, John William Hendel. He has been called the John of the early Church. He was born at Durckheim, in the Palatinate, and matriculated at Heidelberg university, May 10, 1759. He was recommended to the deputies by Kalbfus, the pastor at Durckheim. He passed an excellent examination before the deputies at the Hague, June 27, 1764, and was to sail August 14, 1764. On his arrival the coetus recommended him to Lancaster. He entered on his duties there in January, 1765, and remained pastor there till 1769. In 1768 some of the members brought charges against him to the coetus that he did

not care sufficiently for the parochial school or catechize every Sunday. He replied that his appointment to preach at Piquae every fourth Sunday prevented catechization every Sunday. They complained that he kept many children from joining the church. He replied it was done only for the weightiest reasons. He evidently insisted on good church discipline. The coetus sustained him against his opponents. But as the opposition in the congregation continued, it recommended him the next year to leave Lancaster and go to Tulpehocken. In 1771 he began the instruction of students for the ministry. In 1773 the coetus urged him to go to Baltimore so as to unite the rival congregations, but he declined. In 1782 he returned to Lancaster as pastor, remaining until 1794, when he accepted Philadelphia. He died there of yellow fever, September 29, 1798. His intimate friend, Rev. Dr. Helmuth, of the Lutheran Church, preached the funeral sermon on 2 Samuel 1 : 26, "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan." The degree of Doctor of Divinity was given him by Princeton in the fall of 1787. He was a remarkably well rounded out character, scholarly, yet practical, and above all spiritual. He was a tower of strength for the Reformed. Stahlschmidt says of him that he was one of the best preachers he had heard in America ; that he possessed much science and knowledge, and in heart was consecrated to true godliness. At Lancaster he held a prayer meeting every Thursday evening from 1782 to 1794.

1765.

In this year the Holland deputies, after writing in various directions for ministers for Pennsylvania, were able to send four, Nicolas Pomp, Frederick Lewis Henop, John Jacob Zufall and Frederick Julius Berger. These were recommended by Prof. Wundt, of Heidelberg, who presented their request for ministers to Pennsylvania to the Palatinate consistory. It directed all inspectors of the Church to let Holland know if they knew of any candidates. The last two will be described in the next section.

NICOLAS POMP.

Nicolas Pomp was born January 20, 1774. He was from Maubuechel, near Kusel, in the province of Zweibrücken. Wundt says that both Pomp and Berger had to suffer considerable persecution because they determined to go to America. They had to give up one-tenth of their possessions to the county and all chance of getting a pastorate if they ever came back. He appeared before the classical commissioners at Amsterdam, March 14, 1765, and before the deputies at the Hague. He was examined, March 27, 1765, together with the other three candidates sent that year. On his arrival in Pennsylvania he accepted part of Leydich's charge, which had become too large for the latter, and took the Falkner Swamp congregation. In November 17, 1771, he asked the Holland fathers to send fifty or sixty gulden to his father in Germany, as he was poor. In 1774 he published a book against the Univer-

salists in answer to a German work by Siegvolck, entitled "The Eternal Gospel," two editions of which had been published in Pennsylvania. Pomp answered this in a book entitled "Brief Proofs of the Doctrine of the Eternal Gospel, by which it is clearly shown that the Restoration of all things is vainly sought in Holy Scripture. At the request of many friends published by N. Pomp, V. D. M., Philadelphia, printed by Henry Miller, 1774." The Universalists had started in Oley, Berks county, and this was an answer to them. He says he published it after it had lain for four years in his study. It consisted of two parts. 1. Of God's Love. 2. Of God's Righteous Punishments. In September, 1783, he began the pastorate of the old Reformed congregation at Baltimore. Here he came into conflict with the new congregation under Otterbein. He found it a difficult field and preached his farewell sermon, November 15, 1789, because of opposition caused mainly by two members about the new church building. He supplied Goshenhoppen from 1789 to 1791, until J. Theobald Faber, Jr., was ready to take the pastorate. Pomp then went to Indian Field. He was at Witpen from 1794 to 1797. He died at Easton, September 1, 1819. He was clerk of coetus, 1769, 1782, 1790, and president, 1770 and 1783.

FREDERICK LEWIS HENOP.

Frederick Lewis Henop was born at Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate, the son of the rector there. He matricu-

lated at Heidelberg university, November 29, 1758. He appeared before the deputies, March 27, 1765, and came with Pomp and the others to America. He was at once assigned to Easton, which had so complained about Weyberg's departure. He remained there till 1770, when he removed to Frederick, Maryland. His field was quite large, as it is said he also preached at Lovettsville, Va. On May, 1784, he was called to Reading and accepted the call. He was about removing to Reading when he suddenly died. He was clerk of coetus in 1770 and president in 1771.

1767.

In this year three ministers sent by the deputies, Charles Lange, John George Witner and John Theobald Faber, joined the coetus. Charles Lange will be considered in the next section.

JOHN GEORGE WITNER.

John George Witner was born at Bellheim in the Palatinate, August 13, 1735. His father was pastor there and afterward became a member of the consistory at Heidelberg. He matriculated at Heidelberg university, December 12, 1755. He was examined by the deputies in Holland, May 27, 1766, and appeared before the classical commissioners at Amsterdam, June 5. He sailed on the ship Catharine for New York. After his arrival in America he was placed over the Muddy Creek charge, consisting of the Muddy Creek, Zeltenreich, Cocalico and Reyer's

churches. In 1768 his charge brought complaints against him, but he replied that two of them had not paid his salary. Insufficiency of salary reduced him to poverty, which produced great gloominess of disposition. He left there and was without a charge for a time, but became pastor, 1772, at Milford, Kestenberg and Saltzburg, where he was successful and prosperous. He was clerk of coetus in 1777, and had there been a meeting the next year he would (according to the usual custom which advanced the clerk to be president) have been president, but his absence prevented. He died in his charge, December 25, 1779.

JOHN THEOBALD FABER.

He was born at Zozenheim, (or Hohenheim) in the Palatinate south of Bingen (and not near Zurich, as Weiser had said), February 13, 1739. He matriculated at Heidelberg university, February 5, 1760. He was examined and ordained at Heidelberg, April 20, 1763. His credentials to Holland were dated April 28, 1766, so that he must have left the Palatinate about that time. He was examined by the deputies, May 27, 1766, and was with the classical commissioners in Amsterdam, June 5. He arrived at Philadelphia, October 24, 1766, and began his pastorate at Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp. He married Barbara Rose, with whose father he stayed at Reading during one of the meetings of the coetus. He proved a worthy successor of Weiss in the

Goshenhoppen charge. In 1769 Lancaster called him, but after considering it for four weeks he declined. In 1775 Lancaster again called him, and two elders appeared at the coetus to press the call, but still he did not accept. In 1779 the congregation called him a third time. He accepted and went to Lancaster in October, 1779.

But he did not long remain satisfied there. He longed to get back to his old charge. After three years he accepted a call to the Indian Field charge, and in 1786 he returned as pastor of the Goshenhoppen charge. His former parishioners gathered in a large crowd at the church to welcome him. As he approached the church he said, "You people of Goshenhoppen, I will never leave you. Here will I live and here will I die." On November 2, 1788, he attended a funeral service at the New Goshenhoppen church. He urged his wife to go with him. Strange to say, that morning he had his wife conduct family prayers. He was accustomed to wear a white cap of silk on account of baldness. Without removing it he ascended the pulpit to the amazement of the congregation. He began preaching on Matthew 9: 18-26. When he had closed the sermon with an amen he suddenly laid the palm of his right hand to his head and slowly sinking to the floor uttered the words, "Come and help me." He was carried to the schoolhouse. His wife approached him to whom he simply said, "My head." In a few moments he breathed his last. Rev. Mr. Blumer preached

his funeral sermon on Hebrews 13 : 17. He was buried in the New Goshenhoppen church. Out of respect to him, his wife was permitted to live in the parsonage for several years, and his oldest son was educated by the congregation for the ministry, and afterwards became his successor. He was clerk of the coetus, 1771, and president the next year.

1768.

FREDERICK DALLICKER.

Frederick Dallicker came from an old Zurich family. His father was a prominent painter there. He was born February 2, 1738. In 1757 he was ordained to the ministry. The next year he became the assistant to the German minister at Geneva. In 1760 he became chaplain in the French service. It seems that he had become involved in debt by going security for some one, although his father paid the debt before he went to Pennsylvania. He arrived at Amsterdam, December, 1766, appeared before the classical commissioners, April 17, 1767. He appeared before the deputies at the Hague, June 25, for examination. On his arrival in America he became pastor of the charge at Amwell, N. J. Germantown called him in 1768, but he declined. In 1769 charges were brought against him at Amwell, and a committee sent to investigate them. As a result he left Amwell, but retained the rest of the charge, preaching at Rockaway, Fox Hill and Alexandria. After Pomp left Falkner Swamp, he went there, 1782. He sup-

plied the Goshenhoppen charge, 1781-1784. On October 10, 1787, he was present with Schlatter at the funeral of Muhlenberg. He died at Falkner Swamp, January 15, 1799, and his funeral sermon was preached by J. Theobald Faber, Jr. He was a prominent member of the coetus, being its clerk 1774, 1783, 1786, 1788, 1789, and president of it, 1775, 1787 and 1790.

1771.

In this year two excellent young men, Charles Lewis Bœhme and Abraham Blumer, joined the coetus.

CHARLES LEWIS BÖHME.

Charles Lewis Bœhme was born at Muhlbach, in the Palatinate south of Eppingen, and matriculated at Heidelberg university, November 22, 1755. He had been a vicar to a congregation and officiated at Bacharach, on the Rhine, and Hedesheim, near Creutznach. He was at Amsterdam, August 2, and preached in Rev. Mr. Kessler's church with credit. He appeared before the deputies at the Hague, August 22, 1770, and before the classical commissioners, August 27. After his arrival in Pennsylvania he was sent to Lancaster, where if no complaint came in against him, he would be permitted to preach. At the next coetus no reports against him having come in, he was permitted to become their minister, remaining there till July, 1775. He was then called to McCallister's (Hanover) where he remained till 1779. Then he

accepted a call to the old congregation at Baltimore, where his first marriage is recorded, July 28, 1779. But he soon sickened of gout and epilepsy, and was compelled to resign. In his sickness he became very poor. The Baltimore congregation, at the suggestion of the coetus, supported him for a year. The coetus appealed to Holland for aid, which was granted. In 1783 the deputies gave him \$40, as the Baltimore congregation was not able to support him because of the calamities of the war. Bœhme seems to have been an excellent, talented man. The coetus of 1785 speaks of him as just having died. He was clerk of coetus in 1772, and president the next year.

ABRAHAM BLUMER.

Abraham Blumer was born December 14, 1736, O. S., at Graps, formerly in the canton of Glarus, Switzerland. His father, John Jacob Blumer, died when he was only ten years old. He matriculated at Basle, August 1, 1754. He was ordained, June 8, 1756. He became chaplain of a Swiss regiment in the Sardinian service, July 11, 1757, remaining in it up to 1766, when he left it to enter the teaching profession in his canton. He became vicar to a sickly minister, and also private tutor. Rev. Mr. Planta, the pastor of the German Reformed church at London, wrote a letter, June 26, 1770, to the deputies strongly urging his appointment. He appeared before the deputies, August 22, together with Bœhme, and also before the classical committee, August 27, 1770. He left Amsterdam,

September 6, 1770. He arrived at New York the latter part of January, 1771. He was called to the congregations near Allentown, as Egypt, Jordan, Schlossers and Erlentown. He labored there over 30 years, till May, 1801, old age compelled him to resign. He died, April 23, 1822, and was buried in the Egypt church. During his pastorate he baptized 2517 children and confirmed 1137. He was a man of considerable ability and scholarship, and occupied prominent positions in the coetus. He was clerk in 1773, 1784, and president in 1774 and 1785.

1772.

This year brought three important ministers into the coetus, the half brothers John Henry Helffrich and Albert Conrad Helffenstein, and also John Gabriel Gebhard. Before taking them up, one cannot help referring to Rev. Peter Helffenstein, the inspector of the Reformed congregations of the classis of Sinsheim in the Palatinate. The classis of Amsterdam (April 3, 1771) says he offered himself, his two sons and his step-son Helffrich, all for Pennsylvania. (Long before, on November 1, 1742, Dr. Diemer had written to the classis that a minister named Helffenstein would pass through Holland on his way to Pennsylvania.) Later, June 16, 1771, the deputies receive a letter that he cannot live separated from his sons, and greatly desired to go. He also gives a sad account of his struggle with unbelief and simony in the Palatinate Church. But his longing was unfulfilled,

because of lack of means on the part of the deputies. He later wrote pathetic letters to his son. His heart was on this side of the ocean, although never permitted by providence to come.

JOHN HENRY HELFFRICH.

He was born at Mosbach in the Palatinate, October 22, 1739. He matriculated at Heidelberg university, February 2, 1758, and entered the ministry in September, 1761. He preached for three years and a half at Sinsheim and Rohrbach under his step-father. He was for seven years vicar at Reyen, Kirchhard and Steinfurth. He left Sinsheim, June, 1771, for Holland, together with his half-brother, Albert Conrad Helffenstein. At Mannheim they took the boat down the Rhine to Dusseldorf. He appeared before the deputies, July 14, having been before the classical commissioners, July 5. He sailed for America, September 6, 1771. The voyage was a long and very perilous one. On shipboard they were often in great want, because their prolonged stay in Holland had been expensive, while the traveling money given by the deputies was unusually small. Hardly had they left Amsterdam, than they ran on a sandbank, from which they had to be pulled off by a larger ship. On September 16 they arrived at Newcastle, England, where their vessel remained twenty days. They left October 6. They had a tremendous storm for two days, and were driven by the storm out of their course, backward toward

Hamburg. On the 21st England and France again came into sight. On the 25th they were driven into the harbor of Caen for safety. On October 21 they went out again to sea. The voyage was pleasant until November 9, when a terrible storm came up. The voyage proved so long that there was danger of starvation. On December 25 the passengers had water dealt out because of its scarcity. On January 14 they arrived at New York after a voyage of four months and eight days. In all they passed through seven storms and two water spouts, which broke the masts, tore the sails and threatened destruction. At New York they called on Rev. Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch Church, who directed them to Pennsylvania. He was called as pastor of the Maxatawny charge by the coetus of 1772. He continued pastor of this charge till his death. His first act was to thoroughly organize the congregations which before had been under the independent ministers, like Michael. Some of them objected, and he left them, but most of them accepted and became thoroughly organized under the coetus. He was quite active in the coetus, never missing a meeting of it, except one in 1784. He was its clerk in 1776 and 1785, and its president in 1777 and 1786. He died on December 5, 1810. During his ministry he baptized 5830 and confirmed 4000. He was just about mounting his horse to visit the widow of a deceased friend, when he was stricken with apoplexy. As he was carried to his bed, he said,

“O how well I lie here.” He was a fine scholar and an able preacher. He left a system of dogmatics in Latin, which is interesting in revealing what the early fathers of our Church in this country believed.

ALBERT CONRAD HELFFENSTEIN.

He was of old Reformed stock. We have already referred to his father. (His great-grandfather narrowly escaped being killed during the Thirty Years' War because of his attachment to the Reformed faith. He was hotly pursued by the enemy, but took refuge in a hole or opening of the earth. Before his pursuers could come up, a spider diligently went to work and spun a web over the hole at the entrance. The enemy, as they passed by, concluded from this that no one could have gone in there.) He was born at Mosbach, February 16, 1748, and was therefore about nine years younger than his half-brother, Helffrich. He matriculated at Heidelberg, May 7, 1764. With Helffrich he appeared before the deputies, July 14, 1771. During the voyage over they encountered very severe storms, and he and Gebhard were very nearly washed overboard by a wave, January 7, 1772. They arrived at New York, January 14. There he met Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch Church, who afterwards mentioned with pleasure the meeting. During the storms he more thoroughly consecrated himself to God. He at once became pastor at Germantown. In 1776 he was called to Lancaster, although his Germantown congregation bitterly

opposed it. He remained at Lancaster till July, 1779, when he was again recalled to Germantown. He labored there for ten years, and then died, May 17, 1790, when the church was in the midst of a revival. Dallicker preached his funeral sermon in the church on John 14 : 13, and Rev. Dr. Helmuth preached on 2 Kings 1 : 26 at the grave. He was prominent in the coetus, being clerk in 1779 and 1787, and president in 1781 and 1788. He was one of the most eloquent preachers of the early Reformed Church. Harbaugh related the following : " It was his custom to have two introductions, one before a prayer and the other after. The former was based on a Scripture text, as well as the latter." Harbaugh says that on one occasion at Whitemarsh, after singing the hymn, he stood up and commenced, " Lord, save, or I perish." He then closed his eyes, bowed his head and folded his hands. In a few seconds he opened his eyes and proceeded, " Thus it was that Peter cried out when on the sea he saw himself in danger of sinking." Some in the congregation had been alarmed by his act, supposing that Helffenstein had been sinking in the pulpit. He was very careful in the analysis of a sermon and impressive in its delivery. A volume of his sermons was published after his death, and had a large circulation among the Germans. It was entitled, " Eine Sammlung auserlesener Predigten. Carlisle, 1810." They were republished in 1818, 1835 and 1839. An English translation was pub-

lished, entitled, "A Collection of Choice Sermons. Carlisle, 1832."

JOHN GABRIEL GEBHARD.

He was the brother of the colleague of the elder Helffenstein at Mosbach. He was born at Walldorf, south of Heidelberg, February 2, 1750. He matriculated at Heidelberg, January, 1768. He appeared before the classical commissioners, July 5, 1771. He was refused by the deputies and so went to Utrecht, where he was examined, August 13, by the classis of Utrecht. He came before the deputies, August 20-22, and was examined and accepted. He left with Helffrich and Helffenstein, September 6, 1771, and was almost washed overboard at sea, January 7, but arrived with them, January 14, at New York. On his arrival he was called to the congregation at Witpen, but did not remain long. He was called in November, 1774, to the German Reformed congregation in New York, where he remained until driven out by the British. His later ministry was at Claverack, 1776-1826. He was quite a linguist, mastering the Dutch language within three months. He founded the Washington institute at Claverack, and was its principal. He died August 16, 1826.

1774.

JOHN WILLIAM INGOLD.

He was born at Simmern in the Palatinate and matriculated at Heidelberg university, 1754. He was ordained

at Heidelberg, May 10, 1762. He was not one of the Squatter imposter order, as Weiser suggests in his monograph on Goshenhoppen, but a regularly ordained minister sent by the Holland deputies. He appeared before the deputies, June 1, 1774, having a testimonial from Hospital, consistorialrath of Heidelberg, dated May 23, 1773. He also had a recommendation from the German Reformed church of London, of which he had been minister for more than four months, dated February 20, 1774. He was appointed to Pennsylvania. On his arrival in Pennsylvania he took charge of Witpen. A controversy arose between the congregation and himself about his salary, which they refused to pay, and he left. He went to Saucon for a short time and then to Easton in 1776. Here he again failed in his ministry. Then he went to Goshenhoppen in 1780, offering to remain on whatever salary they chose to give. New Goshenhoppen refused to accept him. Coetus tried to pacify matters through a committee, but was unsuccessful. He then returned to Easton in 1781, where he labored for five years. He left Easton, November, 1786, and came to Reading. He left Reading, April, 1788, on the eve of a coetus meeting there and went to Indian Field, Tohickon and Trumbauer's. The coetus' minutes of 1790 say Ingold, who has not attended coetus for three years last, is again absent, and on account of his evil conduct has been rejected by his congregations. As

long as the coetus existed he was a member of it, although the synod later in 1801 excluded him.

B.—The Ministers who Joined the Coetus in America.*

1765.

JOHN DANIEL GROS.

John Daniel Gros was born at Webenheim in the county of Zweibrucken. He matriculated at the university of Marburg, April 20, 1758, and at Heidelberg April 21, 1761. He went to Holland to arrange to be sent by the deputies, but he says that when he got there he found the ship was about to sail, and so came over without waiting for them to accept him. He took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia, December 4, 1764. When the coetus of 1765 met they examined and ordained him. They explained their unusual act in not waiting for proper authority from Holland to ordain him by saying that when he arrived there was danger that independent congregations would lay hold of him even on the ship. So to prevent him from becoming an independent minister they thus ordained him, relying on Hendel's testimony about him, who testified to his good conduct and diligence at Heidelberg university. He was called to the Whitehall charge near Allentown. The deputies were very much displeased

* We arrange them according to the year in which they were received into the coetus. Some of them, as Bucher, had been laboring in the ministry some time before thus received.

that the coetus ordained him, and for a time delayed their approval of it, but finally granted it. His charge was very poor, yet he labored most successfully in it, and they became greatly attached to him. In 1769 he was called to Saucon, but so great was his attachment to his former charge that he would not give them up until they had a pastor. And for a time he served both charges, although quite a distance apart. He would preach in his old charge three Sundays and the fourth Sunday in Saucon and Springfield. But in 1770 he left his old charge, giving his entire time to Saucon. He soon became prominent in coetus, being placed on committees requiring delicate work, as on the committee to harmonize the Baltimore congregation. He was clerk of coetus in 1768, and president the next year. In 1772 he complained to coetus that his congregations did not pay his salary. Because of their want of love, stubbornness, neglect of church worship and failure to pay his salary, he therefore accepted the next year a call to Kingston, N. Y. But although he was in New York, he still felt great interest in the German churches, and attended one or two coetus meetings afterward. He was pastor at Kingston, 1773-1783. He was pastor of the German Reformed congregation in New York city, 1783-1795. He became professor of German languages at Columbia college, 1784-95, of moral philosophy there, 1787-1795, regent of the university of New York, 1784-1787. Columbia College gave him the degree of Doctor of Divin-

ity in 1789. He died, May 27, 1812. He published the first great book published in America on moral philosophy, entitled "Natural Principles of Rectitude, a systematic treatise on Moral Philosophy," Philadelphia, 1795.

1767.

JOHN CONRAD BUCHER.

He was a native of Schaffhausen, to which his ancestors came as early as 1545 from Lindau. He was born there, June 13,* 1730, son of Jacob and Anna Dorothea Burgauwer. His father became prominent as magistrate at Neukirch in 1745, and in 1752 as assistant clerk of Schaffhausen. He studied in his native town, completing his course with honor in 1750. Then he went to St. Gall to study under Casper Wegelin, Schlatter's teacher. He may have been there when Schlatter visited St. Gall for candidates for Pennsylvania. On June, 1752, he went to Marburg university, where he matriculated on July 14 and remained till April, 1755, although in June, 1753, he made a brief visit to Gottingen, where the great historian Mosheim wrote in his autograph album.† He had been studying theology, but seems to have preferred the military service. So he entered the Dutch service, and after that the English for the French and Indian war in America. He was placed near Carlisle. He was appointed lieutenant, April 19, 1760, reappointed lieutenant-

* Not 10, as Harbaugh has it.

† This album is in the possession of Rev. Prof. J. H. Dubbs, D. D.

ant, July 15, 1763, adjutant, September 7, 1763. He was appointed captain, July 31, 1764. At the close of 1765 he resigned his commission, and went to preaching. Rupp says the Carlisle congregation had been organized in 1765, and he was its first minister. He is no doubt the person referred to in the coetus minutes of 1765 as the independent minister who performed ministerial functions at Carlisle, for it is said that he began performing ministerial acts at Carlisle as early as 1763. He began preaching at Bedford, 1764, at Middletown, Hummels-town and Falling Spring in 1765. Indeed it is said that he preached at Fort Pitt, which he must have done during the Bouquet expedition. Tradition has it that he acted as a chaplain in the army. In 1768 he also preached at Big Crossings of Yoghegeny, Redstone and near Fort Cumberland. He removed to Lebanon about the beginning of 1768, and became pastor of that charge, which consisted of Quittopahilla, Heidelberg, White Oaks and Rapho or Roffo. In 1770 he supplied Reading, and was called there, but out of love to his congregation at Lebanon he declined. Stahlschmidt speaks of him as a minister who made merely a trade of preaching, but judged by his work at Lebanon, he had a higher aim than that. He was clerk of coetus, 1775. He preached at Lebanon till his death, August 15, 1780, when at a wedding at Annville he suddenly died of heart disease. So great was the affection of his congregation for him that they reverently

carried his body to Lebanon for burial. He was buried at Lebanon at 9 a. m., August 17, 1780.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER GOBRECHT.

John Christopher Gobrecht was born at Angerstein, near Gottingen, October 11, 1733. He was a weaver by trade, and came to Philadelphia in 1753. He qualified, September 11, 1753, with his father. After being in this country for ten years he was led by God's Spirit to study for the ministry. He studied two years under Alsentz. He was examined and ordained in the Tohickon church, says Harbaugh, September 28, 1766, and took charge of the Tohickon, Indian Field and Great Swamp congregations. In 1770 he was called to the Muddy Creek charge. He preached his farewell sermon at Tohickon, December 9, and entered on his labors in the new charge, December 15, 1770. In 1779 he became pastor at Hanover, Christ church, Abbottstown and Bermudian, where he labored 27 years. He died at Hanover, November 6, 1815. He lacked the excellent preparation of a university course, but proved a plain, effective preacher, and left a blessed influence behind. He was president of the coetus in 1776, and must have been a man of good judgment, for they put him on the committee to try and harmonize the Baltimore congregation.

1769.

FREDERICK FAEHRING.

He was born in 1736. He lost his father in his earlier years. He studied at Princeton College, and then three

years under Alsentz, Weyberg and Pomp, who reported to coetus in his favor. He was, however, postponed for another examination, which took place in the spring of 1769, before Weyberg, Dubois and Faber. They at once ordained him, and until the next coetus assigned him to Germantown and Witpen. The coetus of 1770 endorsed the call of the Germantown charge to him. In 1770 he was charged with a clandestine marriage to the daughter of an elder in his congregation. He confessed his sin and asked forgiveness of coetus. But in 1772 he accepted a call to the German Reformed congregation in New York. His ministry was afterward spent in the Dutch Church. He was pastor in New York, 1772-1774. His congregation was loth to part with him, but he accepted what is now the Millstone church, N. Y. He was an active patriot in the Revolution, and from a cold caught in escaping from the British sent to capture him, he died, March 29, 1779.

1770,

JACOB WEYMER.

He was born about 1728, for when he applied to the coetus in 1768, he is said to be about forty years of age. There is a Jacob Weimer, who took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia, October 7, 1751, which is very likely he, for the coetus of 1768 says he had been a school-teacher for seventeen years. When he came before coetus, he had been very successful in ministering to desolate congrega-

tions during the French and Indian wars. He was examined and recommended to Holland for ordination. He was employed as a catechist at the Heidelberg congregation, 1770–1771. He was assigned to nine congregations along the border, among them Heidelberg, Lynn, Albany, Lowhill and Greenwich, because of their great desire for the Word of God. The Holland deputies granted permission for his ordination, July 9, 1769. He was therefore ordained in 1770. In the same year he was called to Canogochaque and Hagerstown. In 1771 he, with Henop, went to Virginia and brought back news of the sad condition of the Reformed. He organized the Chambersburg congregation, 1784, also preaching at Grindstone Hill and Greencastle ; at Apple's, Frederick county, Md. ; St. Paul's, near Clear Spring ; Baird's church, near Cavetown, and Besore's, near Waynesboro. He also preached at Shepherdstown, and once a year went to Huntingdon county. He died at Hagerstown shortly before the meeting of coetus, June 7, 1790. He was an earnest, acceptable preacher.

1772.

BENEDICT SCHWOB.

He was born about 1730. He had been preaching to the members of the Baltimore congregation, who had been disaffected with Faber, and who desired greater spiritual life than the cold preaching of Faber had given them. As there was a controversy between the two parties in that

congregation, the matter of his ordination was referred to a committee, consisting of Pomp and Hendel. They brought a favorable report. Coetus ordered him to be ordained, after he had passed his examinations, and provided the congregation in Baltimore interposed no objections. Gros and Gobrecht, the committee sent to Baltimore, brought back a favorable report, exonerating him. Coetus took favorable action by a majority vote, because of the scarcity of ministers in Maryland. He appeared before the coetus of 1771, and was again examined by Henop and Hendel, and ordained.

CASPAR WACK.

He was the son of John George Wack, an elder in the Philadelphia congregation, and had attracted the notice of Weyberg. He was born at Philadelphia, August 15, 1752. Weyberg took charge of his education, and taught him three years. When only seventeen years of age he was serving the congregation at Lancaster as a catechist, as the congregation had no pastor. He was so acceptable that, as Faber did not accept their call, he was continued as catechist. In 1771 he was acting as a supply to the Tobiackon and Indian Field congregations and Great Swamp. He proved so acceptable that the congregation gave him two calls. He was examined, but coetus waited for orders from Holland before ordaining him. He was ordained, July, 1772. He is said to have been the first young man born in America ordained by the coetus to the ministry.

But he was not the first ordained by the coetus, as Harbaugh suggests, for DuBois and Tempelman were the first, in 1752, about twenty years before. He was the boy preacher of the early Church. Such favorable reports came to Holland about him, says Harbaugh, that the Holland fathers asked him to visit Holland at their expense. But owing to the unwillingness of his parents and friends, he did not do so. In 1773 Nacomixon congregation was incorporated in his charge. He reported to coetus a baptism by a school-master, which coetus declared was not a baptism, and the deputies, when they heard of their action, were displeased that they did not also discipline the school-master. On June 20, Blumer as president and Dallicker as clerk of coetus gave him a fine testimonial of his work.

In 1782 he was called to German Valley, N. J., Fox-hill and Rockaway. He declined the first call, but accepted the second, given soon after. Here he labored for twenty-seven years. He was then called to German-town about 1811, where he labored for twelve years, and then retired to the home of his son, who was preaching at Witpen. The last four or five years of his life were spent with his son, Dr. Philip Wack, at the Trappe. He died, July 19, 1839. He was probably the first German Reformed minister to introduce the English language into his congregations, as at German Valley and Germantown. He was quite decided on his theological views. A Universalist minister once annoyed him, saying, "Our doctrine

is old ; it was preached in paradise," quoting the words, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." But Wack was equal to him, for he replied, "Yes, it is old ; it was preached in paradise, and the devil was the first preacher of it, and his text was, Thou shalt not surely die." And to another who was preaching restorationism after death, he replied, "If that be so, I don't see what you have to do here, where I am doing all in my power to prevent people from going to hell. Your proper mission is in hell itself, preaching the gospel of prospective deliverance to those who are in torment."

JOHN WESLEY GILBERT NEVELING.

He was a cousin of Weyberg, and was born in Westphalia about 1750. He came to this country with Mrs. Weyberg in 1764. Weyberg instructed him, as he had Wack, and so did Gros. He was examined by coetus in 1771, after having supplied Amwell with preaching for a time. This congregation so loved him that they came to coetus with a call for him. He was examined and approved, but coetus waited for the Holland Church to order his ordination. He was ordained after the coetus of 1772. Germantown called him in 1776, but he declined. In 1783 he accepted the Reading congregation. Here about 1783, while riding to preach at the Alsace congregation, his horse fell and the stem of the pipe he was smoking wounded his throat so as to permanently affect his speech. Then paralysis came on. For sixty years he was

paralyzed and very needy. The coetus of 1787 asked the Holland fathers to appropriate some money for him, which they did. Perhaps no one felt the effect of the separation of the coetus from Holland in 1793 more than Neveling, for it cut off their aid to him. He complained to Holland about this. During his long sufferings the Bible was his constant companion till eyesight failed, and then he was always happy in Christ. He died, January 18, 1844, in Philadelphia, at the age of 94 years.

DANIEL WAGNER.

He was born in Westphalia, January 11, 1750, at Eibelshausen, near Dillenburg, and brought to this country when two years old. His father settled first in Chester county, and then in Bern township, Berks county. He went to New York to study under Gros in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and then to Hendel to study theology. He was examined by coetus, but his ordination had to wait until ordered by Holland. The coetus of 1772 ordered him to be ordained. In 1773 York wanted him, if Otterbein left. He served the congregations around York, and when Otterbein left in 1774, he accepted York. During the Revolution he was the Reformed pastor at that capital of the country when Congress was in session. In 1786 he accepted a call to Tulpehocken. But so greatly was he loved by his former congregation at York, that they would make up small parties and go to Tulpehocken to visit him. So on October, 1793, he returned to York as pastor,

remaining there till 1802, when he accepted a call to Frederick, which he resigned, October, 1810. He died, December 17, 1810. He is a fine illustration of a well rounded out minister, scholarly, spiritual and of excellent common sense. He was clerk of coetus in 1791 and president in 1792.

JOHN WILLIAM WEBER.

He was born at Wittgenstein, in Germany, March 5, 1735. From a certificate dated April 23, 1764, it appears he was a school-master there before coming to America. He took the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia on his arrival, September 20, 1764. In 1767 he was at Falkner Swamp. He was permitted by the coetus of 1771 to catechise and preach, but was not to be ordained until instructions given from Holland. He studied, it is said, under Weyberg. The coetus of 1772 ordered him ordained. In 1776 he had the Plainfield charge near Wind Gap. At the coetus of 1782 a congregation from Westmoreland county, Pa., asked for a minister, offering eighty pounds salary. As Weber had had some trouble, it is said, in his congregation because of his strong sympathies with the patriots, he declared himself willing to go. He went west in September, 1782, and took his family in June, 1783, to Westmoreland county. Thus the coetus began its home missionary work in the west during the trying hours of the Revolution. His congregations are given as at Fort Pitt, Hautolin, Hampfield and Mount Pleasant. He labored

hard, but his congregations did not pay his salary. He appealed to coetus, and they urged the congregations to pay or he would leave, and they would have difficulty to get a minister. He also did a great deal of missionary work in Armstrong, Venango, Butler and Crawford counties. He died at the beginning of July, 1816. He was accustomed to observe his birthdays as days of fasting and prayer, and a number of religious poetical compositions are given by Harbaugh.

CONRAD STEINER.

He was the son of John Conrad Steiner, and after his father's death had been acting as a schoolmaster. He appeared before the coetus of 1771, Leydich suggesting him for the congregations at Upper Milford and Salzburg, which had been very much pleased with him. He was examined, and coetus waited for instructions from Holland. The coetus of 1772 ordered him to be ordained. In 1774 he was called to the Lehigh congregations, but did not go till 1775. Here he was pastor till 1782, when he died.

1774.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER FABER.

He was a cousin of John Theobald Faber, and older than he. He matriculated at Heidelberg, February 26, 1752, and was ordained there and had come from that consistory. He applied with his cousin to the Holland deputies to be sent to Pennsylvania, but was refused. He however came to Pennsylvania, arriving at Philadelphia

about the time that Alsentz died, in October, 1767. He supplied Alsentz' congregation at Germantown. Both Germantown and Witpen requested his return, but the Baltimore congregation brought a call before the coetus of 1768, which he accepted. The coetus approved the call, and as he did not have any recommendations from Holland they wrote to Holland asking that they allow him to be received as a member of the coetus. But the Holland deputies had heard reports against him, and were not disposed to accept him. Meanwhile difficulties arose against him in Baltimore which divided his church, the pietistic element leaving. As coetus of 1771 decided it best for him to resign, he took the church at Taneytown. He wrote a letter from Taneytown, September, 1772, to the deputies of deep contrition for his sins and shortcomings. He was received as a member of coetus, May 2, 1774, permission having been given by the deputies after receiving his letter of 1772 confessing his sins. Little more is known of him, unless Rev. John Christopher Faber, the seventh pastor of the German church of Charleston, 1781, be he. He was said to have been the last Reformed pastor of that congregation, as it afterward passed over to the Lutherans. Harbaugh says he was pastor of the Chambersburg congregation up to 1789.

C.—The Disciplined Ministers.

We now come to a new phase in the history of the coetus. As the years rolled on, it found itself compelled to use discipline. We must not be surprised that unworthy ministers appeared. All the early religious denominations in America suffered from them, and some of them more than the Reformed. For many ministers, who had lost caste in Europe by their unworthy lives, came to America, either to shelter themselves from the disgrace or to retrieve their character. Too often they found that a change of country did not by any means mean a change of nature, so they soon fell back into their old ways. Others nobly retrieved their former lives amid new surroundings.

And there is a fact about this subject that ought to be especially remembered in regard to our Church. The Holland fathers were peculiarly open to imposition by unworthy men. For they could not send ministers from Holland with whose character they were familiar, because these could not preach in German. So they had to send to foreign lands, as Germany and Switzerland, for ministers. They therefore could not know the men they sent very well, as they were all strangers to them. The wonder was, not that they sent so many whose lives proved unworthy, but that they sent so few. Of their continued carefulness about the lives of the ministers they sent, the minutes of their synods bear abundant testimony. And

the coetus too should receive great credit for the manner in which it cast off such men.*

JACOB LISCHY.†

Lischy had had from the very beginning of his ministry at York an element in the congregation against him, led by Casper Spengler. In 1753 this party seems to weaken, as on July 30, 1753, they take an oath before a justice, confessing their sin and promising that they would make no more trouble in the Church. Still they seem to be dissatisfied, for at the rival coetus held that year at Cocalico, October, 1753, they bring complaints against Lischy. Lischy seems to have grown tired of this strife, and during the latter part of that year determined to resign, and preached his farewell sermon on Acts 20 : 21. But the congregation gave him a recall, January 1, 1754, signed by 87 members. He therefore decided, April 13, 1754, to remain.

But at the coetus of 1757 a serious charge of immorality after the death of his wife was brought against him. The coetus reported to Holland that he had refused to meet a committee to confer about his case, and instead had written to Rieger and Otterbein, accusing the members of coetus of unjust hostility to him. They say that in these

* We would prefer not to take up these cases of discipline, but the facts of history must become known, and the historian must give them their fair place.

† For his former life see Chapter III., Section IV., page 237 ; Chapter IV., Section VII., page 409, and Chapter IV., Section VIII., page 412.

letters he had tried to excuse his sin by trivial reasons. They report that he had absented himself from the coetus. And so they suspended him from the ministry and ordered Otterbein to supply the congregation until the meeting of coetus. Lischy and his followers would not obey, but held services in the church, and when the church door was locked against them, they broke it open. The president had asked him to appear at the coetus, but he refused. Coetus, in making this report to Holland, asked for counsel. And Lischy appealed from the coetus to Holland, claiming that their action on his case was illegal. The classical commissioners, June 8, 1758, say they cannot really decide the matter owing to the lack of sufficient information. But they gave it as their judgment that Lischy ought not to be suspended without a trial by coetus, which he did not have. The deputies also advise, August 11, 1758, that coetus be cautious in regard to the matter, and suggested that Lischy go on preaching till found guilty by coetus. They also wrote a letter to Lischy, finding fault with him for not meeting either the committee or the coetus. They earnestly admonish him to submission to the coetus, and, if guilty, to make a full confession. Lischy took this letter and paraded it about as a vindication of his innocence. But the coetus of 1762 says he has resigned. And the deputies finally, as they found Lischy was not disposed to be obedient to the coetus, acquiesced in their decision and deposed him from the

ministry. The South Holland synod of 1764 declared his case as closed. He, however, continued preaching to some congregations in the neighborhood of York. He lived on a farm near Wolf's church, York county, where he died in 1781 and was buried there. In regard to his case he was right on the technical point of the church law, but probably wrong morally.

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW RIEGER.*

He is the fourth case of exclusion from the coetus, Steiner, Rubel and Lischy being the others. At the coetus of 1762 two elders from the Zeltenreich congregation, which he served, appeared with a memorial signed by sixteen names, bringing charges against him. His delegate elder, however, defended him. The case was due to his habit of practising medicine in addition to attending to the duties of the ministry. He had been called in to treat a patient who had been thrown from a horse by being hit with a stone thrown by a prominent citizen of Lancaster. The man lived twelve days, and then died. Rieger was suspected by the community of trying to shield the rich man who threw the stone. When asked in the examination by coetus whether he could make a sworn statement that the man did not die from the effects of the stone, he replied that the judge had not required such a statement. When asked why he had not made a post mortem exami-

* His previous life has been given in other sections, especially Chapter III., Section IX., p. 166, and in Chapter III., Section XIX., and what follows.

nation to find out the exact cause of the death, he replied that the judge had not ordered it. The case was then put to the elders, all of whom except Rieger's delegate voted against Rieger. Coetus then concurred in the vote of the elders, and ordered him to cease preaching. The case against him was managed by Stapel, who had just arrived from Europe, DuBois, the president, giving it over to him as clerk, because, being a Hollander, he did not understand German. Stapel managed the case so as to make quite a show legally. But looking at it from this distance, there is a question whether its decision was not too severe. (Some in the coetus probably were glad to get rid of Rieger because of his practise of medicine.) The classical commissioners, on hearing of the case, say the justice of the decision is not quite clear to them. But finally, as Rieger refused to be obedient to coetus, they decided, April 2, 1765, to agree to his exclusion from coetus, and the South Holland synod of 1764 gives the same decision. Rieger, however, continued preaching as an independent minister in spite of the action of the coetus. And they report to Holland that they did not have authority enough in Pennsylvania to stop him. He lived at Lancaster until he died, March 11, 1769, and was buried in the Reformed cemetery. On his tomb are the words :

“ If Jesus be teacher, physician and friend,
Through Him you will reach the heavenly land.
For art and science are vain forsooth,
And this, O mortal, I tell you in truth.”

JOHN JACOB ZUFALL.

He was born at Obervorschutz in the grandduchy of Hesse, and matriculated at Marburg university, April 30, 1753. He was recommended to the Holland Church by the consistory of Sierenberg, where he had been acting as chaplain. He was examined before the classical committee, March 27, 1765, appeared before the deputies, March 18, and together with Pomp, Berger and Henop was examined by them, March 27, 1765, having arrived at Amsterdam, March 5. He arrived at Pennsylvania before the coetus of October 16, 1765, by which he was appointed to Tulpehocken, at which, however, he was not present on account of serious illness. But the next year complaints began to come in against him. Coetus, however, smoothed them over. In 1767 the complaints against him for drunkenness became so serious that the president of coetus, Otterbein, together with Hendel, the clerk, went to Tulpehocken to inquire about matters. They found the charges true. Zufall then left and tried to get into the independent congregation at Philadelphia, which Rothenbuhler had left. Coetus cited him to appear before it, but he refused, and they struck his name off the roll, which action was approved by the Holland Church.

FREDERICK JULIUS BERGER.

He was the son of the rector at Zweibrucken, and matriculated at Basle, October 22, 1760. He was examined by the deputies, March 27, 1765. He had been before

the classical commissioners, March 14, accompanied by his youngest brother, who desired to go to Pennsylvania as a school-master. His father also wrote to the classis, saying that he would be willing to go to Pennsylvania, and establish there a seminary for the Reformed. The deputies, however, replied that Pennsylvania was an English colony, and they did not propose to establish any schools there. Berger, on his arrival in America, was called to the Reading congregation. However, complaints soon began to come in against him. In 1766, at the coetus held at Reading, an elder appeared from Muddy Creek, charging him with drunkenness. He was admonished by the coetus, and promised to reform. But his conduct became so shameful that Hendel, Wittner, Pomp and Faber went to Reading to inquire into matters. They found the charges true, and suspended him till coetus. At the coetus of 1768 at Easton he appeared there, acting very boisterously. The coetus then deposed him from the ministry. He afterwards became very poor, and preached to a country congregation near Reading, which did not belong to the coetus. He afterwards appeared at the coetus of 1769, asking to be reinstated in the ministry, but was refused.

CHARLES LANGE.

He was born at Innsbruck, the capital of Tyrol, and was of Catholic parentage. He was living at Chur in Switzerland when he wrote to Holland about coming to

Pennsylvania. His attention, like Rubel, had been called to Pennsylvania by Schlatter's published Appeal, which had been given him by Rev. Mr. Ulrich, of Zurich. He wrote to the deputies, July 2, 1765. He appeared before the deputies, April 18, with recommendations from the professors and minister of Basle, also from the professors of the seminary at Haldenstein, where he taught a year, also from the magistrates and Reformed ministers at Chur. They replied, inviting him. He then asked that he might be permitted to wait until spring, and by April 15, 1766, he was in Amsterdam, where Kessler and Kulenkamp sent him to the Hague to meet the deputies. He was examined by the deputies, May 17, 1766. With a wife and child he sailed for America. He was called to Frederick, Md., where Otterbein had been. At the next coetus complaints came in from Otterbein's pietistic friends in the congregation against him, and from his friends against Otterbein. Coetus, however, decided for Otterbein, and suggested that he seek another charge as soon as he could. He left Frederick in 1767, and went to Virginia, where he preached to vacant charges. But he soon got into trouble for immorality, and coetus cast him out (1769). While at Frederick, he kept a careful journal. His first entry into the church book was made, February, 1766, and his last, May, 1768.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION IV.

THE INDEPENDENTS.

JOHN GASSER.

He appeared before the deputies, May 26, 1755, (having been chaplain of a Swiss regiment) to ask for aid for the Reformed and Lutheran congregations at Santee Forks, S. C. His commission was signed by them, December 20, 1754, and he was endorsed by Planta, the minister of the German Reformed congregation in London, and Casper Wetstein, chaplain to the Princess of Wales, and had been appointed by the Charity society minister at Santee Forks, S. C. The deputies order coetus to receive him. When the coetus hear of this action in 1757, they strongly object because of his offensive conduct. They claimed that he had applied to them to be admitted to the coetus five years before, and was an imposter. By 1758 the deputies had found out his real character, and forbid the coetus to receive him.

JOHN WILLIAM KALS.

He was from Julich, and matriculated at Leyden university, August 25, 1745, when forty-five years old, so he was born in 1700. He then became minister to Surinam, and for charges against him there he was finally, after a

long trial, deposed by the classis of Amsterdam. He arrived in Philadelphia about the end of Stoy's pastorate, bringing with him a recommendation from Rev. Mr. Chandler, of the Charity society. He preached in the vacant Philadelphia church for six or seven weeks, but when they found that he did not have recommendations from the Holland deputies, he was not elected. He then went to the Amwell, N. J., congregation. He seems to have remained in this country, for in 1762 Muhlenberg speaks of hearing him preach in the Germantown congregation, May 3, 1762, and calls him the learned Orientalist. It seems he preached in Alsentz' church while the latter was away on his European trip, and tried to get a call, which when the elders of the church found out, they would not let him preach any more. So he turned his attention to teaching. An advertisement appeared in the Staatsbote, May 10, 1762, that he would open a Greek and Latin school in Philadelphia if sufficient encouragement were given. We do not know what became of him. Steiner, in his letter to Holland in 1759, speaks of him as old and feeble, having only one eye, and having great difficulty in preaching the German, as he was a Hollander.

FREDERICK ROTHENBUHLER.*

JOHN WILLIAM PYTHAN.

He was a native of the Palatinate, and said he had studied at Heidelberg, although the matriculation book

* See Chapter V., Section II., page 535.

there does not reveal his name. He came to Pennsylvania in 1769, taking the oath of allegiance September 1. Coetus found him possessed of fine gifts of oratory. He was assigned to Easton on trial. But at the next coetus, 1770, complaints came in against him for drunkenness. Still there were a few members of the Easton congregation who were well pleased with him and cared not how he lived. There was also an element in the Dryland congregation that clung to him. Coetus sent a message to Dryland, that if they would continue to cling to him, they would not be regarded as a church belonging to the coetus. Coetus thus got rid of him. He disappears from Pennsylvania, but reappears afterward in North Carolina. He preached in the Catawba charge before 1789. He also succeeded Suther as pastor of the Guilford charge. He died there suddenly on a Sabbath evening after preaching a long remembered sermon to the congregation. He was buried at the Brick church, N. C.

BRUIN ROMCAS COMINGOE.

A German settlement was formed in Nova Scotia in 1753 or 1754, and in 1770 the Reformed applied to the coetus for a minister, but the coetus had no minister to spare. Being unable to get a minister from Pennsylvania, they then asked one of their own number, Bruin Romcas Comingoe, to become their pastor, and they requested the Presbyterians to ordain him, which they did, July 3, 1770. Two years later they appointed an elder, Martin Kaul-

bach, to go to Pennsylvania, New York and Holland, and secure donations toward their unfinished church. He went, it seems, to Pennsylvania and New York, but did not gain much, and he therefore appealed to the classis of Amsterdam, August 4, 1772. He reported that there were sixty families in the congregation. He said he would come to Holland, but the voyage was long and expensive. Classis declared itself unable to help them. Comingoe labored at Lunenburg faithfully for forty-nine years till 1819. The congregation then had a pastor, Rev. Adam Moschell, from Germany, who labored among them till 1837, when they went over to the Presbyterians.

JOHN WILLIAM BOOS (BOAS).

He was born at Otterberg, near the Kaiserslautern, in the Palatinate, and matriculated at Heidelberg university, September 29, 1763. He was recommended to Holland by Professor Wundt, of Heidelberg university. The deputies expected to send him to Pennsylvania, but he failed, July 13, 1768, to pass the examination before them. They therefore sent him to the university of Utrecht for a year's study. He was again examined by them, June 7, 1769, but again failed to pass, and was sent back to Utrecht for another year at their expense. Failing again at an examination, February 5, 1770, he was put under the care of one of the deputies, but failed in his examination. By July, 1771, the deputies hear from Pennsylvania that he has appeared there. So he must have come over either in

1770 or in the early part of 1771. He had been so long expected in Pennsylvania that the Reading congregation had been waiting for him. The coetus was very much disappointed when they found he did not come recommended by the deputies. But the Reading congregation pled so earnestly for him that some ministers who met together at Reading, yielded to them, but required of the congregation that they would accept the blame if the deputies were displeased. Boos conducted himself well that year, and coetus permitted him to remain another year. The congregation at Cacusi wanted him in 1772, and coetus permitted it. The coetus asked the deputies to accept him, but the deputies forbade his reception into the coetus peremptorily. So the coetus of 1773 refused to accept him, but wrote to Holland that Pennsylvania was a free country, and they could not drive him from the Reading congregation. In 1777 the coetus met in Reading and wrote that Boos had brought Reading into a flourishing condition by his zeal and blameless walk, and earnestly asked the fathers to accept him, but they refused. In 1782 coetus reports that he had to leave Reading. In 1787-8 he preached in the Oley congregation. In 1789 complaint came in against him, but he exercised a long ministry. He stayed at Reading till 1792.

GEORGE FREDERICK WALLAUER.

He was born at Appenheim, near Bingen, where his father was minister. He matriculated at Marburg university, April 22, 1763. On April 3, 1769, he first applied

to the classical commissioners, being recommended to them by Professor Wundt. They answer that just then they had no application from Pennsylvania for a minister. On July 5, 1771, he again applied to Holland, offering to go to Pennsylvania, but as they say they had heard some rumors against him, they declined. It seems he came to America at any rate, arriving at Baltimore in the winter of 1771-72. The old congregation asked him to supply them. But the coetus having been warned from Holland against him, refused to accept him as a member. In 1774 the congregation sent a petition to the coetus that he be received as a member, but it was not granted, and he left Baltimore before May 2, 1776, when a letter to Holland announces that fact. Dr. Heiner says that he heard he had entered the British army, but in what capacity he knew not. Harbaugh says he returned to Europe.

JOHN PETER MILLER.

John Peter Miller must be distinguished from Frederick Casimir Miller. He was a school-master, and seemed to have been at first school-master for Michael. He had been school-master at Ebenezer (New Tripoli), Lynn township, Lehigh county, where he promoted himself to be a minister. He succeeded Michael as pastor at Ziegel's church, and was a man of more ability and education than Michael. He preached also at Allemangel, Heidelberg and Jacobs congregations. He lived at New Tripoli, died there and was buried in the graveyard.

HENRY HIRTZEL.

Henry Hirtzel, or Hertzelt, was a mason by trade and became pastor of the Ebenezer and Jacobs congregations after Miller left them. Helffrich tells the story that some persons laughed at his efforts, but he declared (referring to his trade) that he could build up the kingdom of God as well as build a building. He applied to the coetus of 1777 to be admitted, but was refused, because his motives were considered mercenary. He had not the moral character of Michael. There was an old Huguenot congregation at Kutztown, where he preached for some time, but was dismissed before 1772. He was also pastor of Longswamp and Little Lehigh congregations after Michael's last term, beginning 1780.

JOHN ROTH.

John Roth preached, though unordained, at Ebenezer after Hertzelt left. He also succeeded Hertzelt at Jacobs church, and succeeded Peter Miller at Heidelberg. He was buried at Ebenezer. He applied to coetus, 1785, for admission, but was refused also in 1787.*

* Rev. N. C. Schaeffer, D. D., Superintendent of Public Schools of Pennsylvania, gives the following incident about the Reformed congregation at Kutztown. It seems that the consistory had passed a rule that no one should preach in the church unless he was a member of the coetus, or could show a certificate or license for the ministry from Europe. One of these adventurers came along who was probably only a school teacher, if that, and had services appointed in the church for the following Sunday. Peter Kline, one of the elders (who also had a special fancy for having children named after him, and would attend all baptisms, provided the child were named after him), happened to hear of this on a Saturday afternoon. On Sunday morning he went

CHAPTER V.—SECTION V.

PIETISM IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

The Reformed Church from the beginning was pietistic. What was the reformation but a great revival? And our Church, which grew out of the reformation, partook of this spirit. Prophecyings, as prayer meetings were called, were held by our reformers, as Zwingli and Lasco. And this tendency was continued in the German Reformed of Germany, by Untereyck, Neander, Mel, Lampe, Terstee-gen, the Krummachers, and a host of others. Our Church in Pennsylvania reflected this spirit in the mother Church of Germany. The five ministers who came over with Schlatter were trained under the pietistic influences of the university of Herborn. At first, it is true, the dearth of ministers, the rareness of the church services, and the widely scattered location of the churches, prevented it

to Kutztown, got the key from the sexton and planted himself on the church steps. Of course no bell was rung for the services. Finally the adherents of the adventurer confronted Kline with a demand that he unlock the church and allow services to be held. He asked the preacher for his certificate of license. As he could not show any, Kline would not allow any one to enter the church. Hot words followed, but Kline closed the discussion by a sentence playing on his own name: "Heute hat Petrus den Schlüssel zum Himmel. Heute wird nicht gepredigt in dieser Kirche." ("To-day has Peter taken the key to heaven. There will be no preaching to-day in this church.") His firmness settled a mooted question of order and church discipline in the early church at Kutztown.

from becoming prominent. It was not till 1770 that a remarkable religious movement began to show itself. But even before that, whenever the coetus had to decide between formal Christianity and experimental, it always decided for the latter. Thus when Otterbein wanted to leave Lancaster, because of opposition to church discipline, it urged him to stay, and the congregation acquiesced. In 1768, when Hendel opposed the reception into the church of unconverted young people, coetus sided with him.

In 1770 a very remarkable religious movement began to show itself among the Reformed of Maryland. As ministers were scarce, it was customary for the Reformed ministers to make missionary tours into the vacant districts to hold meetings. Out of this custom grew the great meetings of Antietam. These meetings were not undenominational, as has been supposed, but they were exclusively Reformed, as the minutes of these conferences, found in St. Benjamin's Reformed church, near Westminster, Md., show.* These reveal that all the Reformed ministers west of the Susquehanna joined in them, and also Hendel, who was located east of the Susquehanna, at Tulpehocken.

These meetings have been supposed to have been United Brethren, but they were held long before the United Brethren denomination was started. Between

* See Rev. Prof. J. H. Dubbs, D. D., article in "The Reformed Quarterly Review," January, 1884, page 110.

them and the organization of the United Brethren Church, in 1789, the war of the Revolution intervened, which destroyed all excessive religious tendencies. This movement was Reformed and only Reformed. The Reformed ministers who went into it did not for a moment consider that they were doing anything contrary to Reformed custom. Some of them had been accustomed to such meetings in Germany, along the northern Rhine, before they came to America.

The minutes of these meetings begin with May 29, 1774. From them it is evident that they were not the first meetings held, as the conferences seem to have been already thoroughly organized. The first conference mentioned was held at Pipe Creek, and was attended by Otterbein and Schwob. It appointed class leaders in the congregations in Baltimore, Pipe Creek, Sams Creek, Frederick and Antietam. The next was held at Pipe Creek, October 2, 1774. Conawago and Sharpsburg were added to the list of the class meetings. Six Reformed ministers were present—Otterbein, Hendel, Weymer, Henop, Wagner and Schwob. These class meetings were the old Reformed custom of *ecclesiola in ecclesia* (a little meeting of truly converted within the large congregation), which was known in the Reformed Church long before ever Methodism or Methodist class meetings were heard of. And they were far better than the latter, for they brought into prominence the Word of God rather than experience,

The next conference was held at Frederick, June 12, 1775, and was attended by the six Reformed ministers named above. The movement was evidently spreading, as Sharpsburg, Funkstown, Conawago and Hagerstown were reported. It speaks of 300 persons being joined together in the different congregations in this movement. Another meeting was held at Baltimore, October 15, 1775, at which all of the Reformed ministers were present except Weymer. Germantown and Manchester were added to the movement. The next meeting was held, June 2, at John Ranger's. All the six Reformed ministers were present except Henop. Beaver Dam and the meeting at Peter Reitenauer's were added. Germantown was to be supplied. The meeting adjourned to meet at Conawago, October 20, 1776. Here the records end. Whether other meetings were held we do not know. It is altogether probable that the dangers of the Revolution prevented any further meetings, and the attention of the people was diverted from religion to war.

But this early movement was not frowned down upon by the coetus as by some of our later ministers in this century. These meetings stand as a landmark to show that the early Reformed Church included within itself Pietism. Coetus, it is true, does not make any reference to these meetings, perhaps because the Holland fathers did not consider Maryland under their jurisdiction. But whenever any subject came up in which Pietism was

involved, it always pronounced in favor of it. Thus the ordination of Schwob was clearly a victory for the pietistic party in the coetus, for he represented the pietistic element in the Baltimore congregation. Coetus supported Otterbein when attacked by Lange for his Pietism, and very summarily ordered him to seek another place for daring to impugn the Reformed character of so prominent a member of the coetus as Otterbein. Another sign which shows the power of the Pietism in the Church was the ordination of Gueting. Pomp in a letter to Helffrich, March 23, 1786, says that he would oppose Gueting at the next coetus. Gueting was the representative of the pietistic movement. Yet when he applied for ordination the coetus ordained him, at which the Holland fathers confess themselves very much surprised. These things show the power of Pietism in the early church. All this proves the truth of Prof. Dubbs' remark :* "The most influential members of the coetus had themselves been trained under pietistic influences."

Fortunate indeed it was that there was such an awakening in the Church just before the Revolution. For this awakening in Maryland and the addition of so many good men to the coetus put the Church in good condition for the trying period of the Revolution.

* "History of the German Reformed Church," pages 314 and 311.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION VI.

THE BALTIMORE CONGREGATION.

The Baltimore congregation, like the Philadelphia congregation, was rent asunder by strife. But, unlike Philadelphia, it remained permanently divided into two congregations, while the Philadelphia congregation, under Weyberg, reunited again to form a very strong church. The Baltimore congregation was not one of the oldest in the coetus. Maryland being a Catholic colony, the Germans settled there somewhat later. This congregation was reported for the first time in the coetus minutes in 1765 as vacant. In 1768 they called John Christopher Faber. Under his lifeless preaching and unspiritual life the congregation divided, a considerable part of the congregation being pleased with Benedict Schwob, who had been an elder in the Pipe Creek church. In 1769 Schwob applied to the coetus for ordination. In 1770 two members of the Schwob party brought charges against Faber that he was not earnest in preaching, zealous in his ministry or godly in his character. Faber in turn brought charges against Schwob as a disturber of the congregation. The coetus declared that as neither was a member of the coetus, it really had no jurisdiction in the matter, but

as both had appealed to coetus, it appointed a committee, consisting of Gros and Gobrecht, to visit Baltimore and investigate. They did so, and supposed peace had been made, but it was not. The Schwob party built for themselves a chapel. Both parties appealed to coetus in 1771. That coetus decided that it would be best for Faber to resign, as he had been the cause of the division, and that the congregation call another pastor, on whom both could unite. It also ordered Schwob to leave Baltimore, but ordained him, as Gros and Gobrecht found the charges against him unsustained. Coetus explained to the Holland deputies that they acted so quickly about his ordination because of the want of faithful ministers in Maryland. The deputies did not approve of their action. They declared, December 1, 1772, that the coetus should have sustained Faber if his opponents had no lawful reasons for complaints, or if his conduct were blameworthy, they ought to have censured him, and not to have allowed him to go to another church. It seemed to them that Schwob caused the dissensions, and coetus ought to take action against one minister entering the congregation of another. In regard to the ordination of Schwob they would say nothing, as Maryland did not fall under their jurisdiction. This action of the deputies did not reach the coetus till 1773. In the meantime Schwob continued to preach in the new chapel. And the old congregation gave a call to Blumer, but he did not accept. They happened to get

hold of George Frederick Wallauer, and asked him to preach until the next coetus. Both parties appealed to the coetus of 1772, the old congregation bringing a call to Wallauer signed by fifty names. But the coetus, having been already warned by the deputies against him, did not accept him as a member. The new congregation complained that the old congregation had chosen Wallauer without giving them proper notice of the election, as coetus had required. At the coetus of 1773 it was reported that Schwob had left, and his congregation had given Otterbein a call, but as there were many opponents to Otterbein in the old congregation, coetus advised both parties to call Hendel. Hendel declined the call, and Otterbein finally accepted it, 1774. In doing so he did what he had criticised Steiner for doing, namely, accepting a call without the permission of coetus. In that year the old congregation again appealed to coetus to receive Wallauer, but were refused. They also petitioned coetus against Otterbein's accepting the call. Coetus determined to leave the decision about Otterbein to the Holland deputies, who finally decide in his favor, on account of the excellent work he is doing at Baltimore. In 1775 the coetus finally gave the new congregation recognition by confirming Otterbein's call. Thus the old congregation under Faber and Wallauer was outside of the coetus, having independent ministers as pastors, while the new congregation with Otterbein was in the coetus. And the new

congregation was not slow to make capital of this fact over against the old—that they were recognized by coetus, which the others were not. Thus matters stood at the beginning of the Revolution. Otterbein was present at the coetus of 1776 and 1779, but the old congregation made no report to coetus up to 1782, when Bœhme became their pastor, and it came under the coetus again. After Pomp accepted the call to the old congregation in 1783, the strife broke out again between the two congregations, although during the period of the Revolution all had been outwardly quiet. At the coetus of 1788 both Pomp and Otterbein appeared with their elders, bringing complaints against each other. The cause of this seems to have been that they suspected one another of writing to Holland, and thus bringing complaints. But when it was found that neither had written to Holland against the other, they agreed to live amicably together and respect one another. Otterbein wrote (June 15, 1788,) to Holland after the coetus. Pomp had accused Otterbein of causing the divisions in the Baltimore congregation. Otterbein writes, proving that was not true—that he was in Europe when the division occurred, that it was caused by Faber, not by himself. Pomp also accused Otterbein of not being a Predestinarian, and, therefore, not Reformed, to which Otterbein replies. The coetus declared, 1788, that as a reunion of the two congregations was not to be thought of, both congregations must be recognized as connected with

the coetus as long as they remained faithful to the doctrines and customs of the Reformed Church. When Troldenier became pastor of the old congregation in 1791, the relations between the two congregations became quite cordial. When Troldenier laid the corner-stone in 1796, Otterbein made an address. And when Troldenier, whom Otterbein highly esteemed, died, Otterbein took part in the services.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION VII.

THE DEATH OF WEISS.

The later years of Weiss (who may be considered the third of the early founders of our Church, Boehm and Tempelman preceding him) were spent in quietness at his home in Goshenhoppen. He lived in the parsonage, into which he had moved, 1751. His infirmities increased with his age, so that the coetus was held at his house in 1759. He died childless in August, 1761. The congregation permitted his wife to live in the parsonage, and rented another house for his successor, an independent, Jacob Riess. When she died, June 2, 1765, she willed her estate and interest in the improvements made in the parsonage and lot to the negro family who had been slaves of Weiss, and who had been baptized in the Reformed faith by him. Mrs. Weiss had ordered this family to be freed by her will, but they were sold three months afterward. Their master, however, tiring of it, they moved back into the parsonage. The congregation ordered them off, and as they refused to go, finally put them off by force, and put their new minister into the parsonage in 1769. For this the negro sued the congregation and gained a small allow-

ance, and sued them again. This resulted in a vexatious law suit, which had not ceased by the beginning of 1776.*

Weiss revealed in his life more than ordinary ability. He was better educated than either Bœhm or Tempelman ; was the equal of Schlatter in education, but different from him in his idea of the Church. Weiss believed in democratic presbyterialism, Schlatter in aristocratic presbyterialism. Weiss believed in the liberty and autonomy of the congregation, Schlatter in the centralization of authority in the Church, and Weiss and his party won the day. He will ever stand out in our history as the only one who founded both branches of the Reformed Church, the Dutch and the German. For he founded the German congregation in Philadelphia, and then went to New York state to gather the Germans there into the Dutch Church.

Since the previous chapter on his early ministry was written, Rev. Prof. W. J. Hinke has succeeded in finding a copy of Weiss' early work in the congressional library at Washington.† The book is arranged in the form of a dialogue. The first five pages give a conversation with a politician, in which Weiss speaks of the intolerance of the sects, especially the New Born. The politician introduces him to a New Born, with whom Weiss argues on the main points of their belief. Thus the New Born denied that we ought to pray. Weiss proves to him from the Bible and

* See "Norristown Register," March 6, 1883.

† See Chapter III., Section III., p. 118.

the Lord's Prayer that it is a duty to pray. He then replies : " But I do not need that, for I am a New Born." Weiss asks him three questions : What the New Birth was, what its proofs, what its fruits. He replied that the New Birth meant union with God. Weiss shows that there could be four ways in which we could be united with God : by a personal union, by illumination, by regeneration and by general providence. Over against the proofs of the New Birth Weiss shows him that he cannot perform miracles or preach as Christ the sinless One did. The New Born then denies the authority of the Bible. Weiss proves it from fulfilled prophecy, its internal excellence, as well as from its authors. The New Born gave as proofs the illumination of the Holy Spirit, and attacked the ministry and outward worship, especially the sacraments. Weiss showed that Christ commanded the ministry, as He said : " Go, preach the gospel to every creature." And Paul demanded worship in Hebrews 10 : 25. The New Born, unable to answer more, says : " All your words and arguments are vain. It is all the same whether you talk or not." Weiss thus showed the shallowness of their theory, and also warned the Reformed against it.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COETUS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

SECTION I.

THE COETUS AND CIVIL AFFAIRS.

In this trying war the Reformed as a rule sympathized with the patriots. It is true there were some royalists among them, some of them influential, and some of them bitter in their denunciations of the Americans. But the great body of the Reformed were true to America, and some of them performed signal services for their new country. Occasionally a minister would get into trouble because of the royalists. Thus Stahlschmidt says: "I acted with extreme caution, so as not to give offence to the royalists in my congregation (near York), but where such a party spirit reigns, it is impossible for a minister's political sentiments to remain long unconcealed. An order was issued by the American government to march against the enemy, which produced such confusion that I could not do otherwise than advise them to yield as much as possible to present circumstances, because it was incumbent upon us to be obedient to the existing authorities in

all things, not contrary to conscience. Those who vented their rage against the Congress were dissatisfied with me, especially one royalist who went about among the congregation and stirred them up against me. The confusion increasing to the highest pitch, I perceived it best to resign my charge." Weber also resigned and went west on account of some royalists in his charge near the Wind Gap. On the other hand Dubendorf left Germantown because of the opposition of some of the patriots in his congregation, who suspected him of royalist leanings, because he had come over with the Hessians.

Of the ministers of the coetus we have no record that any of them sympathized with the British. Two, however, of the independents did. One was Zubli.* He at first took an active part with the Sons of Liberty against the oppressions of the British and preached an eloquent sermon before the Provincial Congress, at Savannah, on July 4, 1775, on Isaiah, II: 13. "Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." He was selected, July 10, 1775, by the colony of Georgia, as one of its representatives to the Continental Congress, and his congregation gave their consent for him to go to Philadelphia to it. He made the opening prayer at the Congress. But Zubli began to show a middle course. Although he opposed the oppressions of the British he did not think the colonies were ready for independence and became a

* See chapter 3, section 15, page 256.

peace man. Early in 1776 he was accused by Samuel S. Chase, of Maryland, of treasonable correspondence with Sir James Wright, colonial governor of Georgia. We do not know how this was, but he soon after left the Congress because he was no longer in sympathy with its tendencies toward independence. In doing so he missed immortal fame. Had he remained a few months longer he would have become one of the signers of the declaration of independence. He went back to Savannah to prevent that colony from separating from England. But he soon found his influence gone. He was banished from Savannah in 1777, having half of his estate confiscated. When the British gained control of Savannah, 1779, he returned, remaining there till he died, July 23, 1781. After his death the citizens seem to become more appreciative of him and named two streets after him, Joachim and Zubly. One of the suburbs of the city was named after his birth-place, St. Gall.

The other minister who sympathized with the royalists was John Michael Kern, pastor of the German Reformed church in New York. He did not believe the colonies were ripe for self-government. He was compelled to leave, and went to Halifax, and returned after the Revolution. Rubel too was deposed from the ministry for his immorality and toryism. Still this was long after he had left the coetus. As these men were exceptions to the rule, and as they did not belong to the coetus, they are unim-

portant to us. The great body of the Reformed clergy stood for liberty. Some very interesting illustrations are told of some of them.

One of the first congregations to take its stand for liberty was the Philadelphia. Together with the Lutheran congregation and the German society of Philadelphia, they issued a virtual declaration of independence a year before the Declaration of Independence. These three organizations published in August, 1775, a circular appealing for liberty against the unjust exactions of Britain. It seems that when the Continental Congress had appealed to the British Parliament for relief, instead of being answered with kindness, they were answered by severity. And to reduce the most refractory of the colonies, namely, New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia, they forbade them the Newfoundland fisheries, which were the support of New England especially. And parliament granted the right of these fisheries only to New York and North Carolina, so as to win them from the patriots. The Reformed and Lutheran congregations of Philadelphia, together with the German society, therefore appealed to their German brethren in New York and North Carolina not to be drawn away by the temptations of the British, and urged them to support Congress and liberty. They represented that the Germans of Pennsylvania were doing everything to support Congress in organizing militia companies ready to march when ordered. This appeal had its effect. For

the British found later that the Germans of New York under General Herkimer,* the hero of Oriskany, defeated them and prepared the way for Burgoyne's defeat, while in the south the Germans greatly aided the patriots under Generals Marion and Greene. This appeal of the Reformed of Philadelphia is worthy to be placed alongside of the Mecklenburg Declaration of the Presbyterians in 1775.

This early appeal of the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia made it prominent for liberty. As it was one of the largest church buildings in that city, it was used for large gatherings for liberty. Thus when the memorial service of General Montgomery, who had been killed at Quebec, was held, February 19, 1776, it was held in that church. When the British army entered Philadelphia, Weyberg's son stood at the door of his father's house and shouted: "Hurrah for General Washington!" The British soldiers replied: "You rebel." During the British occupation the Hessians came to hear Weyberg preach. He so boldly asserted the justice of the cause of the patriots that the British became alarmed at the daily desertions of the Hessians, and to stop him threatened his life and threw him into prison. The text of the first sermon that Weyberg preached after being liberated from prison was Psalm 79: 1, "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple

* See Reformed Historical Magazine, Vol. III., page 309.

have they defiled." Rev. Dr. Berg says that he had it on the authority of aged members, that it was confidently asserted that if Weyberg had not been silenced, the Hessians would have left the British service to a man. The British took possession of the Reformed church there, September 26, 1777, using it as a hospital, while the congregation worshiped in the school-house. The cost of repairing the church after the British left was \$15,200.

The first soldiers to arrive in New England were two companies of Pennsylvania Germans from Frederick. They marched 550 miles in twenty-two days. A company of soldiers from Reading, under Captain Nagle, arrived at Boston a month before its evacuation by the British. The German soldiers, when marching into battle, would sing,

"England's Georgelet (little George), emperor, king,
For God and us is too small a thing."

Very interesting are the relations of the Reformed to the awful winter at Valley Forge. We will elsewhere give illustrations of Runkel's preaching at Valley Forge.* The Reformed churches at Trappe, East Vincent, Skippack and Falkner Swamp were used as hospitals. Rev. J. L. Fluck says: "The Vincent church was used as a hospital, which Washington frequently visited. Twenty-two of the Revolutionary soldiers were buried in the cemetery of that church, in memory of whom

* See page 626.

a monument was erected in 1731, one of whose inscriptions ran thus :

“ ‘ Their names, though lost in earth below,
And hence are not recorded here,
Are known where everlasting pleasures flow,
Beyond the reach of death and fear.’ ”

Leydich, as pastor of that district, we doubt not, often visited the soldiers and cheered them with religious consolations.”

Gobrecht, pastor at Tohickon and Hanover, often addressed the soldiers on their way to join the army, encouraging them with patriotic appeals and urging them to religious lives. Helffenstein, at Lancaster, preached to the Hessians in captivity there on Isaiah 52 : 2 : “ For thus saith the Lord, Ye have sold yourselves for naught and shall be redeemed without money.” This plainness of speech offended many of the Hessians. On another occasion, after he had preached a patriotic sermon on the text, “ If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed,” the excitement was so great that he was sent home under guard. He once preached to the soldiers on the text, “ If God be for us, who can be against us ?”

Hendel too was known for his patriotism. When he went to the congregations in Lykens, Armstrong and Mahantango valleys, beyond the Blue Mountains, where the Indians still lingered, his life was endangered. So these congregations would send a guard, who would meet

him in the entrance to these valleys, escort him to the church, stand guard outside while he preached, and guard him back to a place of safety again. So great was Nevelling's patriotism that he loaned all of his money, about \$12,000, to the American government, and, it is said, joined the army as chaplain. The British government offered a large reward for his capture, and Washington so highly esteemed him that on one occasion he ordered out a troop of horse to protect him. Nevelling lost the certificate of his loan to the government, and so lost all his money, which he afterwards greatly needed. The southern Reformed, although not in the coetus, also showed their patriotism. Suther and his adherents seceded from the union church in Guilford, because of their patriotism. He was driven from his home by the British, who devastated his farm, drove off his cattle and destroyed his property, as also of his parishioners, because the men of their families were in the American army.

But the membership of the Reformed were as active for the cause of liberty as the ministers. The number of the prominent Reformed soldiers in that war is worthy of note. Of the generals, Philip Schuyler was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York,* and General Nicolas Herkimer, who lost his life at Oriskany, was a German Reformed of New York. Of the officers of lower rank quite a number were Reformed. The leading

* See Reformed Church Historical Magazine, November, 1893.

elder of the Easton congregation, Colonel Peter Kichlein, led his regiment at the battle of Long Island, and the bravery of his men prevented the rapid advance of the British on New York City. He was taken prisoner, and when released, returned home sick.* The Hiester family was also prominent, its ancestor, Daniel Hiester, having been one of the most prominent elders of the Reformed and a member of the first coetus. Of that family four sons were officers, Daniel, the elder, being captain; two brothers, majors, and another, captain. A cousin, Joseph, became colonel and later major general of the militia, as did also two of the others later. The Spyker family had also been prominent for its warriors, Henry Spyker being a colonel in the Revolution. As paymaster he expended over \$600,000, and accurately accounted for every penny. The Reading congregation furnished two colonels, Peter Nagle and Nicolas Lutz. Berks county also gave Lieutenant Colonel Valentine Eckert; Lebanon county furnished John Gloninger, afterward colonel, who fought in the battle of Staten Island and Trenton; Montgomery county furnished Colonel Frederick Antes, of Pottstown, who, although the king's justice of the peace, joined the patriots, and was especially sought by the British, who almost caught him in his house at Pottstown on one occasion; Philadelphia furnished Colonel Faremer, later com-

* See his life in the pamphlet, "Battle of Long Island," by Rev. George C. Heckman, D. D., one of his descendants.

missary general. Rev. Jacob Michael, the independent Reformed minister, was appointed chaplain on May 17, 1777, of the first battalion of the Berks county militia.

But the greatest Reformed soldier of the war was unquestionably Baron Steuben. He was born in 1730 at Magdeburg, Germany, and at an early age entered the Prussian army of Frederick the Great, under whom he learned the art of war. In the Seven Years' War he rose to the rank of adjutant general. He afterward came into contact with Franklin at Paris in 1777, and was induced to come to America. He left France on September 26, 1777, and landed at Portsmouth, N. H., after a very dangerous voyage of two months. He did not feel at home in America until he came to Pennsylvania, where he heard his native German spoken and was enthusiastically received by the Pennsylvania Germans, who idolized a general who fought under Frederick the Great.

Steuben met the congress at York, and was sent by them to Valley Forge to drill the soldiers. He soon taught them the military tactics that made Frederick the Great the master of Europe, and by April 29, 1778, the American army was able to execute the manœuvres of a regular army. On May 5, 1778, he was made inspector general of the army with the rank of a major general. By his military discipline he saved the American army. Thus before he came it is said that the Americans, having been accustomed to a sort of guerilla warfare, did not

know the use of a bayonet, except to roast beef over a camp-fire. Steuben taught them its use, so that in four months some of the soldiers made a bayonet charge, capturing Stony Point and gaining the admiration of the world. In 1779 he published a book, entitled, "The Blue Book, or Steuben's Regulations," which was long the standard of army tactics.

Steuben was then sent to the South, to do with that army what he had done in the North. He brought them under discipline, so that when Arnold invaded Virginia, the Americans checked him, until finally the British were shut up in Yorktown. He was the only officer at that siege who had before been engaged in a siege and knew how to act. Strange to say, when the British surrendered, he was the officer in command. His military tactics thus saved our country. After he had drilled our soldiers, it is said the Americans never lost a battle. Washington was the commander and Steuben the drill-master of the Revolution.

After the war he lived in New York, where he became an elder in the German Reformed church. He first suggested the organization of the society of the Cincinnati. He also formed the plans of a military academy, which was afterwards located at West Point. The war left him poor, but after eight years he received an annuity of \$2500 and 11,000 acres, north of Utica, New York, where a township is named after him. His last public

appearance was as president of the German Society, at whose head he marched down Broadway. He was greatly respected by the community, and once during a riot the rioters gave way to him, shouting as he passed, "Three cheers for Baron Steuben." The Reformed Church may well be proud of his record in the war of independence, as he stands third (after Washington and Greene) in importance.

After the Revolution the Reformed continued to show their love for their new country. Nine miles west of Reading is the Cacusi church, now called Hain's church, at Wernersville. It had over its door an inscription placed there when it was built in 1766: "All who go in and out must be true to God and the king." After the war was over, one of the builders climbed up to it and cut out the word "king," and the inscription remains thus mutilated to this day, a silent witness to the patriotism of the membership of that church.* In 1789 coetus appointed a committee, consisting of Weyberg, Gros and Blumer, together with three elders, among them Colonel Farmer, to draft a memorial of congratulation to General Washington on his election as president. He gratefully replied to them, thanking them for their support. When Washington was driven out of Philadelphia by the yellow fever in 1793, he made his home for several months

* Many of them served in the Revolution, and one, Captain Conrad Eckert, a great-grandfather of the author, is buried just west of the church.

in the family of Rev. Mr. Herman, the pastor at Germantown. There is a tradition that he attended the Reformed church then, and on one occasion took communion with the congregation. After Washington's death the Cincinnati society, founded in 1783 by the officers of the Revolutionary army, held the memorial service in the First Reformed church in Philadelphia, February 22, 1800. One of the most eloquent eulogies delivered on Washington's death was by Rev. Andrew Loretz, of North Carolina.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION II.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Fortunate was it for the cœtus that it was prepared for such a sad time by three things :

1. It was a harmonious body, and had been since 1756. The six years of controversy (1749–1755) had been succeeded by twenty years of harmony.

2. The revival of Maryland had put the Church in a good state religiously.

3. The large addition of ministers (many of them excellent men) before the Revolution. This was very fortunate, for during the Revolution very few were added, while some died.

We have nowhere found any action taken by the cœtus directly in favor of America. Perhaps they were the more careful about that, as their Church was the only Protestant Church in America under the control of a foreign Church. Holland in general sympathized with the patriots against England, for Holland loaned us thirteen millions of dollars during the Revolution. Even the Orange party there, which usually was favorable to England, because of intermarriages with her and to whom the ministers generally belonged, was quiet. The South

Holland synod made some enthusiastic statements of sympathy in 1780.

The coetus' minutes reveal the gravity of the situation and the anxiety of the Church. Even before the war in 1775 the coetus ordered the last day of June to be a day of fasting and prayer in all the congregations. The coetal letter of that year asks the prayers of Holland for them. The next coetus (1776) reveals the sad condition of affairs. Philadelphia and Germantown were not represented on account of the war. During the British occupation of Philadelphia these congregations were entirely cut off. The next coetus (1777) mourns, that "on account of the war many a praiseworthy thing is omitted, especially the keeping of the Sabbath and Christian exercises in the family at home, and more is thought of weapons than of God's Word." Witner, in his coetal letter to the Holland fathers, suggests that they act as mediators between England and the colonies to bring about an early peace. In 1778 only a few ministers met at Lancaster, the rest being prevented by the war, and they transacted no business except the ordination of Runckel. In 1779 they managed to get together a coetus meeting at Lancaster, but there were many absentees on account of the war. Deeply affected by the conditions of the times, they pass the following action: "On account of the frequently prevailing vices and other irregularities in the congregations it was resolved first of all that we acknowledge in deep

humility and self-denial our own entire unworthiness, and confess that without the grace of God we cannot accomplish the very least. However, trusting to divine help, we resolved that an earnest and hearty exhortation be composed and printed, addressed to the congregations, all men in general and the members of our congregations in particular. We pledge ourselves, in the presence of the Chief Shepherd and Bishop, to employ more than ever before all earnestness and zeal, both in public sermons and in general conversation, and to become instruments by which the kingdom of Christ may be built up and the dark dominion of Satan be destroyed." A committee, composed of William Hendel, Pomp and Helffenstein, were appointed to prepare and print this exhortation. In 1780 no coetus meeting was held. In 1781 it was held again at Philadelphia.

One of the most serious results was the reduction of salaries through the war. Thus Stahlschmidt says, when he resigned his charge to go to Europe, that there were thousands of dollars due him for salary, but as sixty or seventy paper dollars were only equivalent to one silver one, he could for all this money scarcely procure a new coat for himself. Doubly grateful to the ministers were the few donations sent by Holland in those needy times.

A more hopeful tone appears in their coetus of 1783. They report to the deputies that a well-founded hope has arisen of an early peace, and that the Reformed and Pres-

byterial religion will be recognized as the dominant faith among them. They thank God for hearing the prayer of all true republicans, and they hope that by their independence they will be brought nearer to Holland.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION III.

THE NEW MINISTERS.

These were very few. The Holland deputies sent only one during the war.

SAMUEL DUBENDORF.

1777.

He had been pastor at Kolberg in Pommerania, Germany, and was an old man when he appeared before the deputies on November 28, 1775. They refused to send him to Pennsylvania because they had no call from a vacant congregation there, and besides he did not have proper testimonials. On March 8, 1776, he appeared before them again with a letter of recommendation from deputy Hubert and having proper testimonials. The deputies appointed him without the usual examination, as he had been in the ministry for so many years. He went to England, where he sailed from Portsmouth, and after a long voyage of twenty weeks he landed at New York. He had to stay there for some weeks before he could get a pass from General Howe to come to Pennsylvania. When he arrived at Philadelphia, Weyberg cordially welcomed him and advised him to supply the Germantown congregation. His call to it was confirmed by the coetus, May,

1777. He remained there for two years. But he was plundered by the British, losing all that he had, and became very poor. True, the affection of his members enabled him to make up a part of the loss, but they were too much impoverished by the war to help much. As there was some dissatisfaction in his congregation, because some of the patriots suspected him of leaning toward England, since he had come over with the Hessians, he resigned. He had several calls, but, like John the Baptist, preferred preaching in the wilderness, on the borders of the Indians, in Lykens Valley. There he labored in great poverty and often in danger from the Indians. In 1781 the coetus, hearing of his needs, gave him \$34. He wrote to Holland, asking for assistance. In 1783 they sent him \$40. For this he wrote, May 6, 1784, a letter to them, thanking them and asking them to present an enclosed appeal to the Queen of Holland, which they did by sending it to her palace in "the Wood" at the Hague. He was present at the coetus of 1784. In that year he was called to Carlisle, but nobly declined, although finally, in 1790, he accepted a call there. After 1795 he returned to the Lykens Valley, and died at Selinsgrove, Pa. By his self-denying labors he founded the Church in that region, which ought to place some memorial of him at his grave at Selinsgrove, Pa.

The coetus received during this period two more ministers, who had been educated in this country.

JOHN CHRISTIAN STAHLSCHMIDT.

1777.

He was born at Freudenberg, Nassau Siegen, Germany, March 3, 1740. When young he came under the influence of this mystics and thus incurred his father's displeasure, who made him take a vow that he would give up all pietism. He felt dissatisfied with his vow and determined to leave home. So he secretly left home and found his way through Cologne to Amsterdam. He there shipped as a sailor on an East India merchantman. He clung to his Savior on shipboard, amid storm and ridicule. On June 3, 1760, he arrived at Batavia, Java. The ship then sailed to Canton, on which journey he passed through a terrific storm and at last arrived at Amsterdam in June, 1761. He again sailed for the east to India. On this journey he passed through a severe illness. He returned to Amsterdam on June 1, 1765. He then visited his old home, where his father kindly received him. His wider experience and travel had broadened his narrow pietistic views. But he was still deeply religious. While at home he visited Tersteegen in August, 1766, and again in 1767. On March 13, 1770, he left home again and went to America. He landed in Philadelphia in August, 1770, where he found a friend in the school-master of the Reformed church, who had known his parents. Dr. Weyberg, who was always

quick to notice any one especially spiritually minded, took an interest in him and urged him to study for the ministry. But he with great modesty feared the greatness of its responsibilities. He studied under Weyberg for a year, and also preached at Frankford. He came before the coetus in 1771, at Weyberg's solicitation. The coetus ordered him to continue his studies. But he felt his inability, and so became a tutor to a judge at Lebanon, where he did considerable preaching, especially for Bucher. There he also became acquainted with Stoy. Otterbein also took an interest in him. Then he studied with Hendel, whom he counted as one of the best preachers he had met in America. He was called in 1776 by the Germantown congregation, when Helffenstein left. Helffenstein urged him to accept the call, as did Weyberg, but he felt his inability, and refused. About this time the seven congregations, whom Wagner left near York, called him, and at Wagner's earnest request he took charge of them. He was examined by the coetus of 1777, preached his trial sermon on 1 Cor. 3 : 9, the text assigned him, was licensed, and Helffenstein and Wagner appointed to ordain him. He soon found himself in the midst of the divisions caused by the war. Most of his people were patriots, but some influential men were Tories. He therefore resigned, and, though it was dangerous to cross the seas, he sailed. His ship was detained in the Chesapeake Bay by English ships, but finally arrived

safely at St. Eustatius, one of the West India Islands. There he went on board a Dutch ship, October 9, 1779. After being almost shipwrecked by storms, he finally arrived safely at Portsmouth, England, where he took another ship for Amsterdam, landing there in March, 1780. He never returned to America, as he intended when he left, but was made their leader by the followers of Tersteegen. He died, June 1, 1826, aged 86 years, of mere old age. His last words were scarcely audible :

“At length, at length the end appears
Of all our sorrows, strife and tears,
The new-born soul then sinks to rest
Forever on his Savior’s breast.”

His influence in Germany remained long after him. When the county of Siegen became rationalistic and its ministers were all rationalists, Stahlschmidt’s followers by their prayer meetings brought that church back to orthodoxy.

JOHN WILLIAM RUNCKEL.

1778.

He was born on April 28, 1749, at Oberingelheim, in the Palatinate, and brought to America on October 1, 1764, when fifteen years old. He became school-teacher at Tulpehocken, when, in 1774, he began taking studying for the ministry under Hendel. He was licensed as a catechist by the coetus of 1777, and preached at Shippenburg, Carlisle, Lower Settlement and Hummelstown.

He did a remarkable work among the soldiers at Valley Forge, of which some very interesting traditions have come down in the family.* Although Runckel came before the coetus of 1777 and was examined, his ordination was postponed until the deputies approved. He again appeared at the coetus of 1778, when the few members who assembled at Lancaster examined him, and he was ordained by a committee, consisting of Hendel and Wagner, at Carlisle, July 30, 1778, before a large congregation. His field was immense, covering parts of five counties. It reached from Carlisle, in the west, through Rofkso and Maytown, to Manheim. In 1777, he says, he preached over 200 sermons and traveled 1500 miles. In 1781 he was called to Lebanon as Bucher's successor, and moved there on May 7, 1782, still, however, supplying Carlisle. On August 11, 1784, he was called to Frederick, Md., and left Lebanon on November 14, having trav-

* Mr. Isaac Potts, the owner of the house occupied by Washington at Valley Forge as headquarters, although of a different creed, says of him: "He was a most devout Christian and a true patriot. He was one of the hardest workers in the cause of religion, and his presence among Washington's men was always attended with good results." When Baron Steuben began drilling the raw recruits, he had great difficulty in making them understand his orders, as he could not speak English. He struggled on with this, until one day he noticed Runckel, who he found spoke German. The latter translated the commands for Col. Harry Lee, and Steuben's difficulties vanished. Runckel was a man of great physical endurance. On one occasion, while following Washington's army on foot from White Marsh to Skippackville, he found a soldier whose feet were so torn by the rough road that he could no longer march, and had fallen out of ranks. He took him on his shoulders and carried him to Norristown, where he had friends. These traditions were given me by William W. Runkle, a descendant.

eled in that field 13,316 miles. At Frederick he did much missionary work, beginning preaching at Rocky Hill, March 28, 1785; at Middletown, April 6, 1785, and at Glades, Short Hill and Manor, April 22, 1785. He made a tour through the Virginia churches in 1785 and 1786. In 1787 Rev. Mr. Schneider, of Albany, came to Frederick, ostensibly to collect funds for a church. A party was formed in the congregation in his favor, who tried to get Runckel away. This division continued in the church till 1800. He was pastor at Germantown, 1802-1805; at New York, 1805-1812, and of the Emmittsburg charge, 1815. In 1819 he retained only Gettysburg, where he died, November 5, 1832.

JOHN H. WEIKEL.

He was an independent minister and a most eccentric man, who brought the Church into disgrace. He appeared before the coetus of 1774, but was refused. He was called to Böhm's and Wentz churches in 1776. At the beginning of the Revolution he preached a sermon on Ecclesiastes 4:13: "Better is a poor and wise child, than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished." This produced so great an excitement in his charge that he had to resign ultimately. He was often seen, after having turned his horse into an enclosure in front of his house, firing pistols over his head from the windows, so as to train him to the fire in case he should be used for war. It has been suggested that his mind

was at times affected. A Hessian captain, in a letter of January 18, 1778, speaks of him as having given up preaching and gone to highway robbing. This may not have been true, but there is no doubt of his eccentricities. Coetus was greatly scandalized that one of its congregations should take up with such a man, and censured the congregation, but with little effect.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COETUS AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

SECTION I.

THE MINISTERS OF THE COETUS.

A.—The Last Ministers Sent from Holland.

1785.

The deputies sent this year three ministers from the canton of the Grisons in eastern Switzerland. They were Andrew Loretz, Peter Paul Pernisius and Bernhard Willy. Of the last two we will speak under the head of the disciplined.

ANDREW LORETZ.

(There was an Andrew Loretz, who matriculated at Heidelberg, June 22, 1750, and at Basle, October 5, 1751, as having been born at Chur.) He had been minister for thirteen years in the barony of Haldenstein, and brought good testimonials from the antistes and his former congregation. The classical commissioners were appointed (September 14, 1784) by the deputies to examine him. He met with them, and was appointed. He sailed the

same week on the ship *Paragon* for Baltimore.* He was called to the *Tulpehocken* and *Lebanon* charges. But he did not stay long, for he left in April, 1786, to return to Switzerland. The coetus gave two reasons for this : 1. His Swiss dialect was so broad that many of his congregations could not understand him. 2. He found the expense of bringing his family to America too great. Coetus gave him a testimonial, when he went back to Europe, March 26, 1786. For this giving of a testimonial the deputies find fault with the coetus.

1787.

LEBRECHT FREDERICK HERMAN.

He was born at *Gusten*, in *Anhalt Cotha*, October 9, 1761, and was confirmed there by Rev. Mr. *Paltenius*. He spent six years at the *Orphans' Homes* of *Franke* in *Halle*, and then three years at the university there, studying Reformed theology under Professor *Mursina* in the Reformed gymnasium at *Halle*. In 1782 he was called as assistant minister at *Bremen*. After great difficulty to get to *Amsterdam* on account of floating ice, he appeared before the deputies and was examined, March 15, 1786. They speak of him as a young man of great promise. He arrived in America in August, 1786, and was called to

* The Church records in Baltimore state that *Loretz* and *Willy* arrived there on December 21, 1784. As they were without any means to continue their journey, the elders of the Baltimore congregation not only paid their bill at the inn "To the Green Tree," but also sent them to Pennsylvania on four horses, spending £23 for their entertainment.

the Easton charge. In 1790 he accepted a call to Germantown and Frankford. But as preaching in two languages was burdensome, he accepted (1800) a call to Swamp, Pottstown and Vincent, which charge he held till his death, January 30, 1848. He, like Hendel and Weyberg, paid special attention to the training of young men for the ministry. Soon after his arrival he presented young Samuel Weyberg, the son of Dr. Weyberg, deceased, to the coetus as one of his students asking for examination. Before his death he had prepared thirteen for the ministry.

GEORGE TROLDENIER.

He was born at Anhalt Cotha in 1754. Like Herman, he studied at Halle, and belonged to the church at Bremen. With Herman he appeared before the deputies, March 2-17, 1786, and landed in America with Herman in August, 1786. He was called to York, to succeed Wagner. But at the coetus of 1788 complaints came in from part of his congregation that he was hot tempered and preached four or five times on the same text. The coetus felt the trouble was due to his ignorance of Pennsylvania customs, and counseled the congregation to peace. At the coetus of 1790 he was located at Gettysburg, having left York, and in 1791 he was called to Baltimore. He went, October 13, 1791, and found the congregation dissatisfied and scattered on account of the building of the new church. The church prospered under him, but he soon died of consumption, December 12, 1800.

1788.

DIETRICH CHRISTIAN PICK.

He was the last of the ministers sent over by Holland. He appeared before the deputies, November 7, 1787. He brought testimonials from Cassel that he had matriculated at Marburg, and also from Gottingen, and that he had been a rector of school at Vache in Hesse. He arrived at New York before February 26, 1788, when he wrote to Weyberg, saying that he had arrived in New York without any money, and asked for \$40. He enclosed in his appeal letters from the deputies, and also from Rev. Dr. Gros, of New York. Weyberg replied, March 4, that the deputies had not notified him of Pick's coming, and that the gift of \$40 would be an impossibility, as the Pennsylvania congregations were poor. He says he would bring the matter before the next coetus. He also stated that the congregations in the coetus were supplied with ministers, and Pick had better seek a place among the Dutch of New York, if he could. Pick replied on April 8, denouncing Weyberg and stating that he had written to Holland, complaining about their treatment of him by Weyberg and the Pennsylvania brethren. The coetus of 1788 took up the matter, upheld Weyberg, and censured Pick for writing such a letter to Weyberg. They tell him that as he had sent Weyberg's letter to Holland, they would also send his thither to the deputies. The deputies acquiesce in the judgment of the coetus. Pick never

entered the service of the coetus, but remained in New York. He was pastor at Canojoharie and Stone Arabia, 1788–1790, and was suspended from the ministry in 1802. He was an eloquent orator.

With Pick the list of the ministers sent over to Pennsylvania by the Holland Church closes. They sent over in all thirty-seven ministers.*

B.—Ministers who Joined the Coetus in America.

1785.

JOHN HERMAN WYNCKHAUS.

He was born at Altena in Westphalia, November 26, 1758. When fifteen years old he attended the Latin school at Limburg, then the university of Duisburg, from September 26, 1776, to September 16, 1779. He was examined and received as a candidate of the Suderland classis, December 7, 1779, and ordained at Berchum in Limburg, August 17, 1780, where he became pastor. On account of ill health he resigned, after serving the congregation for two years and three months. When he was restored to health again, he determined to come to America, and on September 21, 1783, he started from his home for Amsterdam, where he arrived on October 14. He sailed, November 2, and arrived at Delaware Bay, Jan-

* The deputies were in correspondence with Christian Lewis Becker from 1785 on. In 1787 it was expected he would be sent with Herman and Trolldenier to start a school, but it was postponed. He came over in 1793, the year after the dissolution of the coetus.

uary 22, 1784. But the severe cold had frozen up the bay, so that the vessel could get no farther. He remained on the vessel frozen in the ice until March 6, when he decided to travel over the ice for the shore. He then came overland to Philadelphia, where he arrived, March 14, and was kindly received by Weyberg. The vessel was never heard of again, having probably foundered in the ice, carrying down twenty persons. When he heard of his providential escape he said, "God be praised that my life has been mercifully spared." On March 28 he received a call to the congregations at Witpen and Trappe, which had been vacant for four years. He applied to coetus in 1784, but his case was referred to Holland. The deputies examined into the matter, and found he had left his former charge because of lack of support, and so he was admitted a full member of the coetus of 1785. He left Witpen and Trappe in 1787, went to Saucon and Springfield, and was later called to be the successor of his friend and patron Weyberg at Philadelphia. He must have been a very remarkable young man to have been called so soon to the largest and most influential church in the coetus. He preached his introductory sermon on September 26, 1790. In 1793 the yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia. While praying with Mr. Schreiner, the school-master of his church, he became ill with it. He became better, but ventured to attend Mr. Schreiner's funeral, took a relapse and died on October 3, 1793. Rev. Dr. Helmuth, the

Lutheran pastor of Philadelphia, wrote a beautiful poem on his death.

1787.

ANTHONY HAUTZ.

He was born, August 4, 1758, in Germany. His father came to America when he was ten years old, settling in what is now Lebanon county. He learned the trade of tailor, but Hendel saw in him the making of a minister. He studied under Hendel. He became a catechist in 1786 at Cocalico, Muddy Creek, Meyers and Zellenreich. At the coetus of 1787 they called him. He passed an excellent examination, and coetus, without waiting to consult Holland, at once ordained him, but they required him to sign a special formula. When the deputies heard of this, they were angry, especially as his formula contained no reference to the Netherlands confessions. The coetus replied to them that this formula was not imposed on him to give him room for greater liberty of doctrine, but on the contrary to be a restraint against it, as some of the brethren had been suspicious of false doctrine creeping in. Coetus finally confessed it was a hasty decision and stated that remonstrances were raised against this in the meeting, but the majority were in favor of it. In 1788 he was called to Harrisburg, becoming the first regular pastor of the church. He was pastor at Carlisle 1798–1804, and in Seneca county, N. Y., 1804–1815.

1788.

GEORGE ADAM GUETING.

He presented himself to the coetus of 1788 for ordination. He had already been laboring very acceptably as a catechist in Maryland. Pomp says he expected to oppose him at the coetus, as he looked on him as a visionary, but coetus ordained him. The deputies were very much surprised at this act. The coetus, however, stated that they do so in view of the great scarcity of ministers in Maryland and Virginia. He became pastor at Antietam before 1781. He continued a member of the coetus up to 1804, but never attended a meeting. He was then expelled from the synod. He died, June 28, 1812.

LEWIS CHITAKA.

He had been an Augustinian monk in Switzerland, but had left that faith and become Reformed. He applied to the deputies in 1785, was given a donation and sent to Pennsylvania as a school-master. When he arrived he applied to Weyberg, who recommended him to the coetus, April 27, 1785. The coetus ordered him to continue his studies, which he did under Hendel and Weyberg. He was again examined in 1786 and allowed to preach, but was not yet ordained. The coetus reports this to deputies, saying that he arrived at Pennsylvania utterly destitute, and they spent \$77 for him and asked the deputies to aid in paying this expense. The deputies replied that they

had sent him to America to be a school-master, not a minister. But in 1788 the deputies were willing, and he was ordained. He had been charged, October 23, 1787, at Nolton, of still holding to some Catholic incantations to cure a child, but he seems to have gotten over all these and done excellent work as a Protestant pastor. He had labored before under Wack's supervision in New Jersey, and in 1788 became pastor of the congregations at Nolton and Hartwick, where he remained four or five years, and was then called to Tohickon, Springfield and Indian Creek. He was present at the coetus of 1789. He died about 1793.

1789.

PHILIP REINHOLD PAULI.

He was born at Magdeburg, June 22, 1742, and came of a family famous for Reformed ministers in Germany. His grandfather had been court preacher at the Reformed cathedral at Halle.* His father was consistorialrath and court preacher of the Count of Anhalt-Bernburg. He studied at the Joachimthal, Reformed gymnasium at Berlin, and, it is said, also at Leipsic. He studied theology at the Reformed gymnasium at Halle under Mursinna. After traveling through Europe with a wealthy uncle, he came to this country in 1783, and became teacher of Latin in the academy at Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. He applied to the coetus of 1786 for ordi-

* See my History of the Reformed Church of Germany, p. 422.

nation, but his examination was not satisfactory. The deputies, however, for some reason grant permission, March 12, 1787, for his ordination. At the coetus of 1787 the Frankfort congregation applied for him as pastor, as he had been preaching for them while he had been teaching in Philadelphia. He became pastor at Witpen and Worcester, 1789–1793, and after that at Reading, where he died on November 12, 1839.

1791.

JONATHAN RAHAUSER.

He was born in Dover township, York county, December 14, 1764. He was a farmer by trade up to his 21st year, when he determined to study for the ministry. He studied under Hendel, at Lancaster, August 17, 1785, till March 22, 1789, when he preached his first sermon at Bier's church on II Timothy, 3: 16–17. At the coetus of 1790 five congregations beyond the Blue mountains around Shamokin and the Susquehanna sent a delegate with an earnest petition for his ordination. Coetus examined him and reported his case to Holland, asking for an early decision, as Shamokin was in danger of falling into the hands of adventurers, like Spangenberg. As no reply had come in by the coetus of 1791, coetus took the responsibility of ordaining him, June 27, 1791, at the hands of Hendel, Helffrich and Blumer. In 1792 he was called to Hagerstown, where he labored till his death, September 25, 1817.

JOHN PHILIP STOCK.

He was from Treysa near Ziegenheim in Hesse. He matriculated at Duisburg university, October 6, 1786. Their record says he went to Virginia, but he went to Pennsylvania. He came to Pennsylvania in 1789. At the coetus of 1790 the York congregation requested his ordination. Coetus referred it to Holland. As no word came, they ordained him at the next meeting of the coetus in 1791, together with Rahauser. In 1792 he was called to Shippensburg, Chambersburg and Sherer's.

1792.

JOHN THEOBALD FABER, JR.

He was born at Goshenhoppen, September 24, 1771, the oldest son of Rev. J. T. Faber. He studied the classics under Rev. Mr. Melsheimer, a Lutheran minister of York, and then theology under Hendel. Old and New Goshenhoppen presented a call to him at the coetus of 1792. A committee on examination, consisting of Hendel, Helffrich and Pomp, reported that his examination in doctrine had not been satisfactory, yet out of regard to the Goshenhoppen congregation, which had borne the expense of his education, and to his widowed mother, he was ordained. The deputies somewhat doubtingly express their approval. He was pastor at Goshenhoppen, 1792–1807, and then of Bethany and New Holland charges, 1807–1809. He returned to Goshenhoppen, where he

died, February 10, 1833, stricken, like his father, with apoplexy in the church.

1792.

JOHN MANN.*

He came before the coetus of 1792, when the congregations of Lower Saucon and Springfield asked for his ordination. The committee reported that they found him well grounded in the sciences and pure in the doctrines of the Church. Blumer and Helffrich were ordered to ordain him. In 1795 he had trouble in these congregations. He afterwards became pastor at Mt. Bethel, Northampton county, and then returned to farming. His name is last mentioned in the coetus' minutes in 1802, when it was dropped for non-attendance on coetus. He was buried at Mt. Bethel, Pa.

In all coetus received 31 ministers who were not sent over by the Holland deputies.† These, with the 37 sent from Holland, make 68 in all who belonged to the coetus.

C.—The Disciplined.

PETER PAUL PERNISIUS.

1785.

He was from the canton of the Grisons. He had been pastor in the Engadine for thirty-six years.‡ He appeared

* There is a John Mann mentioned as an elder of the coetus of 1784.

† Samuel Weyberg and William Hendel, Jr., applied to the coetus of 1792 and were examined, but were not received into the synod till the year after coetus closed (1793).

‡ There was a Peter Paul Pernisius, who was pastor at Sylva Plana in the Grisons from 1745–1753.

in a very needy condition before the deputies, September 14-15, 1784. He was accepted and went to America, accompanied by his daughter. He was commissioned by the deputies. After his arrival he was a constant source of trouble to the coetus. They complained to Holland that he was too old to be acceptable to the congregations. With difficulty they secured him a place finally in the Lehigh charge, where he remained for six months, but one congregation after another forsook him. Then he went to Philadelphia and tried to practice medicine. Then Brownback's, Wentz and Pottstown called him, but Wentz soon gave him up. In July, 1788, he was charged with the murder of a cattle driver near his home, as he was found with the dead man. He was saved from punishment through the intercession of Weyberg, the evidence being circumstantial. But it cost coetus \$68.88, which it asked the deputies to aid in paying. Pernisius was publicly excluded from the coetus in 1789.

BERNHARD WILLY.

He was also from the canton of the Grisons, having been pastor at Malladio. He appeared before the deputies with Loretz, November 15, 1784, and after his arrival he was appointed to Reading. But although he had a wife in Europe, he again married. When this was found out, a committee, consisting of Hendel, Dallicker and Helffrich, went to Reading and found the charges true. Coetus therefore excluded him in 1786. He went to Vir-

ginia, where he seems to have tried to redeem his life and character. He was a fine scholar, writing Latin freely, outlining his sermons in that language. He preached over a wide district, "from Wylie county to the Potomac and from the Blue Ridge to the Alleghenies." He lived at Woodstock, Va., then in Pendelton and Wythe counties, Va. At the end of his life he returned to Woodstock. Harbaugh says he left behind him in manuscript "Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism." He died in May, 1810.

CHAPTER VII.—SECTION II.

THE INDEPENDENTS.

CYRIACUS SPANGENBERG VON REIDEMEISTER.

He was the most remarkable case of a religious adventurer of the purest water. Fortunately the coetus, in spite of importunity, remained firm in rejecting him, and thus saved itself from disgrace. Harbaugh errs in placing him among the Fathers of the Reformed Church, for he never was a member of the coetus. He was a native of Hesse and a cousin of Dubendorf. He came to this country before 1780, for he wrote to Holland about his cousin's condition in that year. He studied for a time with Boos at Reading, but although he besought Boos to ordain him, he would not do it. He asked the coetus of 1783 to ordain him. But as he had already, although unordained, administered baptism and had asked Boos to ordain him, his irregular conduct made coetus suspicious, especially as his actions were more those of a soldier than of a minister. In 1784 he again applied to coetus. His perseverance made coetus more favorable. They did not give him a positive refusal, but referred the matter to the deputies. Their reply, January 28, 1785, was unfavorable. They had their suspicions about Spangenberg and asked whether

he had ever belonged to the garrison at Deventer, Holland. Meanwhile Spangenberg, evidently fearing their answer, succeeded in getting into the ministry in an irregular way. At the earnest intercession of Dubendorf, Michael, the independent Reformed minister, ordained Spangenberg, although he had no authority to do so. Spangenberg then went up the Susquehanna and preached at Shamokin, Row's, Mahantango and Middle Creek in the latter part of 1785. His bad character soon revealed itself, as he was about marrying, when it was found out that he already had a wife in Europe. He then went to Conagocheaque Valley, near Chambersburg, where he preached to the Grindstone Hill charge and other congregations. He then went still farther west, and in 1795 was at Bedford and Berlin. At Berlin, at a congregational meeting, where an effort was made to get rid of him, he rose in the chancel and stabbed the elder who proposed this, named Glessner. For this he was arrested and found guilty of murder, April 27, 1795. He was hung, October 10—a just judgment. Coetus deserves great credit in keeping such a man out of the Church.

FREDERICK WILLIAM VANDERSLOOT.

He was born at Anhalt Zerbst and had been for two and a half years inspector of the Joachimthal Reformed gymnasium at Berlin. While there he had at times preached in the Reformed cathedral at Berlin, where the royal family of Prussia worshiped, so that he must have

been a man of some prominence. He came, according to Weiser, in 1782. His first field was the Dryland charge in Northampton county. He began preaching at Old Goshenhoppen, December 11, 1783, and New Goshenhoppen, March 4, 1784. The coetus of 1784 granted him permission to supply these congregations, and referred his case to Holland before admitting him. The deputies inquired about him at Berlin and received a favorable reply, only they said he had not yet been ordained. Meanwhile he married, although having a wife in Europe, and for this coetus refused to admit him in 1785. He left Goshenhoppen in October, 1786, and went back to Northampton county, where he died in 1803.

LEWIS LUPP.

He was born on January 7, 1733, and came to Pennsylvania, taking the oath of allegiance on September 29, 1753. He was at first school-teacher, but as ministers were scarce, he began preaching. He never applied to coetus for ordination. In 1786 he was at Lebanon as its pastor, preaching also at Blaser's, near Elizabethtown, Maytown, Manheim (beginning 1785) and Rapho (beginning 1781). His last sermon he preached at Rapho, with his head tied up in a handkerchief. The diary of the Hebron Moravian church, near Lebanon, according to Prof. Hinke, gives some interesting data about him. Thus, on June 11, 1791, the Moravian minister attended Lupp's catechetical examination at Lebanon, preparatory

to admission to the Church. First, he says, Lupp preached a preparatory sermon, and following this fifty children were twice asked to repeat all the questions in the catechism, which they had to answer. During this important ceremony there was throughout a continuous loud weeping, and the young hearts were completely carried away with it. It took six hours before all was finished. The diary says Lupp's piety was somewhat of the legalistic type, as he was constantly attacking sin with the thunders of the law, but twice speaks of the evangelical character of his discourses at funerals. He laid the corner-stone of the Lebanon church on June 26, 1792, and the church was dedicated on May 8, 1796, at which sermons were preached by Becker, Hendel and Pauli. Lupp also preached at the Mountain church. He died June 28, 1798.

HENRY GIESE.

He was born at Lichtenau in Upper Saxony, Germany. April 13, 1757. He was educated at the Reformed gymnasium at Hersfeld, and then spent two years at Marburg university. He came to America in 1776 and remained four years near New York, and then went to Virginia. In 1782 he was at Frederick, intending to go back to Europe. But Henop, whom he met, impressed on him the need of ministers in America, and he stayed. He supplied several congregations in Virginia, as Short Hill, Goose Creek and one at South Mountain. He applied to the coetus in 1787 for ordination, but coetus remanded him

back to his school. Nevertheless he kept on preaching, residing first at Frederick county, Md., and then in Loudon county, Va. Later he became pastor at Berlin, Pa., 1794, his first baptismal entry there being April 26, 1795. He died at Berlin, March 24, 1845.

JACOB SCHNEIDER.

He was born in Europe, and was first teacher and then minister in New York state. He was present at the coetus of 1789 with Gros, and is there reported as coming from Albany. In 1787 he visited Frederick ostensibly to raise money for a church, and ingratiated himself into Runckel's congregation, so that a party wanted to get rid of Runckel and call him. This not proving successful, he afterward became principal of an academy at Leesburg, Loudon county, Va., and later preaching at Lovettsville and adjacent places. He went to Woodstock, then to Leesburg, where he died, 1826, and was buried at Lovettsville, Va.

JOHN MICHAEL KERN.

He was pastor of the German Reformed church of New York, 1763-1771, and at Montgomery, N. Y., 1771-8. After the Revolution he came to Pennsylvania, where he became pastor of Indian Field, 1782-1788, where he died.

ANDREW LORETZ.

In the "Fathers of the Reformed Church" Rev. Dr. Heisler makes this minister the son of Rev. Andrew Loretz.* We are inclined to make him the same person,

* See page 630.

although the matter has not yet been settled. There is such a striking likeness between the early part of their lives that they appear to us the same. Nevertheless, for lack of exact proof we place him here, as they may be different persons. He was born at Chur in Switzerland in 1761, and studied at Kaufbeuren, Bavaria, up to 1779. He came to America in 1784, landing at Baltimore. About 1786 he married a Mrs. Schaeffer (whose maiden name was Lehman, of Hagerstown) at Myerstown, Pa. In the autumn of 1786 or 1787 he appeared in North Carolina, in Lincoln county, living near Lincolnton. He itinerated all over North and South Carolina, preaching, administering the sacraments and catechising. To him, together with Suther, the present Reformed Church in North Carolina owes its existence. He was a man of genial disposition and fine education, speaking French and Latin fluently. In the German he was quite eloquent, and his prayers were long remembered for their unction. He died on a Sabbath, aged 51. He had preached at St. Paul's church that day, and rode fifteen miles to his home to die that night, as he predicted he would.*

* We find that we have omitted several of the independent Reformed ministers in our previous sketches, as follows: John Jacob Dillenberger was the pastor of the Egypt charge (1752-1755). During those three years he baptized 18 persons. He was a Swiss by birth. There was a Rev. Mr. Martin, also a Swiss, who was perhaps the first minister in North Carolina, preaching there in 1759. He also preached in South Carolina. There was also a Rev. Mr. Du Pert, a Huguenot, who preached in 1764 in North Carolina. There was a Rev. Mr. Frederick, a Swiss, who supplied Tempelman's charge after his death, about the year 1760. But he did not stay long, as he was of high temper, and went back to Europe.

CHAPTER VII.—SECTION III.

THE UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH AND THE REFORMED.

Between these two Churches there has long been a controversy. The United Brethren claim Otterbein as the founder of their Church, while the Reformed claim that he never left the Reformed Church. Do the new documents throw any light on the subject?

The first thing to be noticed is that this subject is a different one from the topics before mentioned, as “Pietism in the Reformed Church,” and “the Division in the Reformed Congregation at Baltimore.” For although these were factors in preparing the way for the origin of the United Brethren Church, yet they were not the movement itself. The United Brethren Church was a larger movement than that of the class meetings of the Reformed in Maryland (1770-1776). There was in addition to these the Methodist influence of Asbury, and also the Mennonite influence of Boehm, both of which became factors in forming the United Brethren Church, and were altogether outside of the Reformed Church. It is also to be remembered (and this is an important point) that between the Reformed revival, 1770-1776, and the organization of the United Brethren Church (which they say took place in 1789), the

Revolutionary war intervened. This, according to the records of the Reformed and also of other denominations, was a blight on all religious activity. The minds of the people were diverted from religion to war, and a bloody war lowered spirituality. The result was that when Maryland came out of the war, the state of piety was low, and was all the lower because of the French influence during the war, which made infidelity popular. The United Brethren Church, if it was founded in 1789, came in as a different movement from the Reformed movement of about fifteen years before.

This subject of the relations between the United Brethren and the Reformed resolves itself into two topics.

1. Did the congregation of which Otterbein was pastor belong to the coetus, or did it not? The United Brethren claim that it was always independent, and on this plea they gained the church property in Baltimore.

2. Did Otterbein leave the Reformed Church and join the United Brethren Church and become its founder?

1. Did the Otterbein congregation belong to the Reformed coetus? If so, it was a Reformed congregation. Here again we find two classes of records: first, those of the property; second, those of the coetus. *a.* The property records. Drury, in his life of Otterbein, says that the property of the Otterbein church was deeded to three persons, but not as trustees, thus making it private property and independent. But he upsets his whole argument by

saying that Otterbein, the last of them, by his will deeded it to two trustees, "to take all legal measures to vest the said property in the elders, trustees and members of the German Evangelical Reformed Church."* That very clearly put the legal title to it in the Reformed Church. If the trustees did not vest it the Reformed Church, they violated the trust reposed in them by Otterbein. *b.* The records of the coetus. These very clearly show that the congregation considered itself as belonging to the coetus. Just after the division, 1771, it sent delegates to the coetus, asking to be recognized. And the coetus' acts on a question that must have been suggested by them (for the other congregation would not have brought it up, as it would have been prejudicial to their cause), namely, "Whether a congregation which has accepted a minister outside of the coetus, and without the consent and approval of the coetus, is to be regarded as a congregation under the coetus." The coetus said no, and this was a direct blow at the old congregation, who had Wallauer as pastor. The coetus also took action brought up by Otterbein's congregation (for the other congregation would not have suggested it), namely, "Whether the coetus should take care of members of a congregation who subjected themselves to the coetus and desired to be supplied with a minister." This refers evidently to the new congregation. All this reveals how they were pressing their suit for recognition by the

* Drury, *Life of Otterbein*, page 165.

coetus. If they wanted to be independent, they never would have done this. At the coetus of 1773 the congregation again sent delegates, and accepting the decision of the coetus, called Hendel. If they were not under the coetus, they would not have pressed the call to Hendel. In 1775 Otterbein sent a report to the coetus, showing that he and the congregation considered themselves under the coetus. "Coetus also after mature deliberation deemed it advisable for Rev. Mr. Otterbein to continue his work in the congregation at Baltimore. It is evident from the report that his labors were blessed, and the opposing party is becoming quiet." This gave official recognition to the Otterbein church. During the Revolution the Baltimore congregation that was in the coetus was the Otterbein congregation, not the other. They alone report to the coetus and send delegates to it. In 1779 Bœhme became pastor of the old congregation, and they came back to the coetus. In 1784 the quarrel was resumed between the congregations on the question whether, as both were now in the coetus, they should not be united again. Coetus in 1784 decided that both congregations should be recognized as long as they clung to the doctrines and customs of the Reformed Church. During the period of the congregation before the organization of the United Brethren Church in 1789, the old congregation was outside of the coetus almost half the time because of independent pastors, while the Otterbein congregation was in the coetus all the time. We therefore conclude that the congregation was in the coetus.

2. Did Otterbein leave the Reformed Church and join the United Brethren? The records of the coetus reveal that during its existence he was among the most regular in attendance. After the formation of the Baltimore congregation he was present in 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1788, 1791, 1797, 1800 and 1806. The United Brethren claim that he attended their conferences and took an active part in them. That may be true, but that did not necessitate his leaving the Reformed. He had been accustomed to such meetings in the Reformed Church in Germany without a thought of leaving their Church. Our opponents say, however, that he assisted in licensing ministers of their Church. Thus they quote a license of his to a minister during the Reformed meetings of 1776. But this was a personal ministerial license to preach, given long before their Church was started. This may have been somewhat irregular, but necessity often compelled ministers to do then what would be utterly irregular now. Otterbein felt that there were so few ministers in Maryland that he licensed this man on his own responsibility. And yet he was doing about what the coetus had done. The coetus had no right to ordain Schwob, without the approval of Holland, but it did. Coetus never considered Otterbein's act in licensing the minister irregular, for it never took it up. It is altogether probable that Otterbein felt that as the Holland fathers seemed to consider their territory only Pennsylvania, and refused jurisdiction over

other colonies, something must be done to supply ministers for such needy places as Maryland. It only shows that he became more of an evangelist than a pastor. But he did need to leave the Reformed Church to do this. Their argument falls unless they can point to some fact where he says he left the Church in which he was born and labored. *b.* His correspondence. There is an exceedingly interesting letter of his to Holland in 1788. It seems he and his congregation gained the idea that the old congregation had written to Holland against them so as to have the Holland Church cast them out. In that letter Pomp had charged him with being the instigator of the division in the old congregation. Otterbein showed that he was in Europe when this occurred, and had nothing to do with it. But his letter clearly reveals his anxiety to be considered a member of the coetus under the Holland Church. A very interesting point in it is his adherence to Calvinism. Pomp had charged in his letter that Otterbein was not a Calvinist, and therefore ought not to be recognized as Reformed. Otterbein replies that he is a Calvinist, although not a high Calvinist, as he does not hold to the double election. But all this shows Otterbein's desire to be in the in the coetus, and not independent of it.

What happened after the close of the coetus (1793) does not properly belong to this history. But we may add in regard to the subject that Otterbein was Reformed to the end, for the following considerations :

1. His action in willing the church property to the Reformed at his death. Now if he had gone over to the United Brethren, he would have given it to them, not to the Reformed. He evidently considered it was Reformed property, although his successors in that church did not.

2. In doctrine he claimed to be Calvinistic, while the United Brethren were Arminian.

3. He was strict in his catechization, as his catechumens bear testimony, while the United Brethren sneered at that system of educational religion.

4. He did not have a loud voice suited for noisy meetings, such as the United Brethren held. This weakness was brought out when the Philadelphia congregation called him.

5. He was present at the Reformed coetus long after 1789, when the United Brethren Church was formed. He was present in 1791, 1797, 1800 and even as late as 1806. He was present at it one year later than he was last present at the United Brethren conferences (1805).

6. He declared that he was Reformed to the end, while the United Brethren have not brought a single statement of his where he says he left the Reformed Church. Rev. Isaac Gerhart, one of our ministers, visited him in August, 1812, and Otterbein said to him: "I also am a member of the synod of the German Reformed Church, but cannot attend on account of old age." Now if Otterbein had left the Church, he never would have said that.

The United Brethren make much of a scene in the coetus of 1806, when Becker attacked Otterbein on the floor of coetus, and he left. But Otterbein knew that Becker represented only a party in the coetus, namely, the anti-pietistic party. He also knew that Becker had been trained under the rationalizing influence of Prof. Mursinna in Halle, which was not favorable to aggressive piety. He had many old friends in the coetus who sympathized with his Pietism, as Hendel and Wagner. He knew the membership of the coetus too well to leave it on account of the statement of one member. Besides, his remark to Gerhart and his willing of the property prove he considered himself Reformed long after this.

For these reasons we believe that Otterbein never left the coetus, and was a minister of our Church to the end. Nor should the property in Baltimore be in the hands of the United Brethren, but in the hands of the Reformed. Indeed the Maryland courts evidently decided that it must be Reformed, by requiring the congregation to use the Heidelberg Catechism, which we understand they do not do, thus violating honesty and right.

The United Brethren have claimed that Otterbein was put out of the Reformed Church for being a revivalist. This is wholly false. There is no action of this kind. On the contrary, when Lange attacked his Pietism before coetus, coetus very summarily told Lange to seek a charge elsewhere, and exonerated Otterbein, resenting such an attack

on one of its oldest and most influential members. A year before the United Brethren Church was founded, coetus writes a beautiful tribute about him. In the coetal letter of 1788 they write : "Otterbein has grown old, gray, and is almost disabled in the hard service of the gospel in America. He has done much good, has zealously toiled for the salvation of many souls. And the aim and purpose of his administration, though perhaps it did not strictly accord with the sentiments of all, is edification and blessing ; for what else could it be? He is a servant of God who stands at the gates of eternity to render an account of his stewardship." No more beautiful tribute could be given to any one. No, Otterbein was not expelled by the coetus, but highly honored by her.

CHAPTER VII.—SECTION IV.

THE CAUSES OF THE SEPARATION FROM HOLLAND.

The coetus finally separated from the mother Church, after being under her supervision for sixty-four years (1729–1793), and having received donations from her for sixty-three years (1730–1793). The cause of this separation was not any quarrel between them. Nor was it any difference in doctrine or worship, for on these points they were alike. They gradually drifted apart, owing to various causes, until the final breach was made. The following were the main reasons :

1. A *geographical* reason. They were so far apart, separated by the great Atlantic ocean, which was hardly navigable during the winter season. Hence they were with difficulty able to communicate with each other. As a general rule it took about a year for the American churches to get a reply to their requests from Holland, and often longer. Sometimes they received no reply at all on important matters, as letters were often lost by shipwreck or carelessness. To avoid this the deputies asked, in 1757, that coetus send duplicate copies of its minutes by different vessels, and repeated this request again in 1769. Finally the coetus became weary of the

continual delays in correspondence, which were always annoying and often harmful to the Church. This was especially true during the Revolution, and from 1787-1789, when Holland was overrun by armies, and the deputies often were kept from meeting.

2. A difference of *language*. The Hollanders spoke Dutch and the Pennsylvanians German. Thus, when the German letters from Pennsylvania came to Holland, the deputies had to have them translated, which always took time and often postponed important decisions. The deputies, in 1749, ask Böehm that the coetus' letters be in Latin or Dutch or in German, written in Latin letters. And in 1752 they repeat this request for Dutch or Latin letters. As a result a number of the reports of coetus are sent in Dutch or Latin, Stoy especially delighting to write in the latter language. However, by the latter end of 1759 the deputies grow tired of Stoy's Latin, and request no more Latin letters. The ministers in Pennsylvania found it difficult to write in Dutch, as many of them were unfamiliar with that language. So, after 1767 most of the coetus' reports to the deputies were written in German, although there were a few in German before. Frequently the deputies and the coetus would have misunderstandings, because they so imperfectly understood each other's language.

3. But more important than the last reason was a *constitutional* difference on the right of ordination by the coe-

tus. This the deputies did not wish to grant, declaring that the applicants for the ministry in America could be examined, but not ordained until permission had first been gained from Holland. The deputies meant this for the good of the Church, so that no unworthy men might enter her ministry. They wanted to see that the funds they sent were used by proper men and for the true Reformed faith. But the coetus soon found this arrangement clumsy, and was compelled to ordain by force of circumstances. It therefore ventured to ordain Gros in 1765. The deputies severely found fault with them for this. But coetus in 1766 plead for the right to ordain, giving a few illustrations of the way in which independent ministers were taking their congregations, because they had not the right to ordain. They also plead that as it was done in Schlatter's time, the same privilege be granted to them. The Holland synods replied, however, against ordination, saying that the example of Schlatter was no precedent, as there were only two or three ministers in Pennsylvania in his day, and besides Schlatter had first gained permission from Holland. The coetus then tried before ordaining to wait for permission. But in 1772, after waiting for a year to hear from Holland about Wack, Weber, Wagner, Steiner and Nevelling, and getting no answer, they proceeded to ordain them without permission, as they thought they had waited long enough. They had ordained Weimer before without waiting, because of the great need of ministers on

the borders. They ordained Schwob without permission, but explained that he lived in Maryland, which was in great want of ministers, and the deputies passed it over. They also ordained Gueting without permission, at which deputies were greatly surprised. So also in 1791, as after waiting a year and having not heard from the deputies about Rahouser and Stock, they ordained them. They also ordained Mann and Faber, Jr., in 1792, having passed an action in 1791 that they had the right to ordain without the permission of Holland, as the plan of waiting for the deputies had proved too cumbersome.

4. An *educational* difficulty. This was a long cause of difference. As early as 1753 some of the members of the coetus, influenced by the charity school scheme, pledged themselves for some money toward an institution to train ministers if the deputies would grant permission. But the deputies declined to give such permission, as they said they had not the money to support it. The subject, however, would not lie quiet, especially as the Dutch Reformed of New York had started an institution in New Jersey. But the deputies now had another reason against it. They looked on it as the entering wedge toward the independence of the Pennsylvania Church, because the foundation of a theological professorship had led the Dutch of New York to separate from them. The matter, however, rested during the Revolution, the lack of a school having been made up for to some extent by the private education of

ministers by Hendel, Weyberg, Gros and others. But after the Revolution it came up again. Helffrich, in the coetal letter of 1785, requests a school with two teachers. The coetus of 1785 says that the project does not mean separation from Holland, as the deputies suspect, for that would be basest ingratitude after all the kindness Holland had shown them. Then occurred an event, which brought the subject into prominence, namely, the opening of the Franklin High School in 1787 at Lancaster, which the coetus attended in a body. This act fanned anew the suspicions of the Holland Church, which asked some very pointed questions about that school. The coetus became still more dissatisfied about the matter, especially as some of the last ministers sent from Holland had turned out so badly, particularly Pernisius and Willy. They felt that the men raised up in America were often better suited for their work than those sent from abroad. The Holland Church refused to the very last to grant permission for a school, and this was a large cause why the coetus became dissatisfied with their relations to Holland.

While the coetus was becoming dissatisfied, signs of dissatisfaction with the Pennsylvania Church were beginning to show themselves in Holland in the synods and classes. They said they thought that the political changes that had taken place in the United States were putting a new spirit into the Church, leading toward independence. Some of the classes also think that from the way the coe-

tus writes, they do not care to receive any more ministers from Holland, and so their well meant efforts were not appreciated. The refusal of the coetus to receive Pick was an element in causing the separation, although the deputies acquiesced in the decision of coetus. Some of the classes also declared that as the Reformed were able to build such large, fine churches as at Philadelphia and Falkner Swamp and Goshenhoppen, the Church no longer was in need of foreign aid, but was able to be self-supporting. Thus the two Churches were drifting apart.

Matters finally came to a climax on two points, namely, the right of ordination and the sending of their minutes to Holland. Coetus in 1791 took the following action :

“That the coetus has the right at all times to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking or waiting for permission to do so from the fathers in Holland.”

The failure of the Holland fathers to send word about the ordination of Stock and Rahauser was doubtless the cause of this action. That coetus also took action that “the coetus shall each time furnish the Reverend fathers with a report of the proceedings, accompanied with suitable explanations when it is necessary.”

Strange to say, in the report of that coetus sent to Holland, these two articles are left out, so that the Holland Church was thus left in ignorance of them. In 1792 the coetus went farther, and declared :

“A member of the Reverend coetus stated that it was

very desirable to have certain fixed rules introduced, which shall specifically define the way and manner of conducting the business of the coetus, as also the duties of each individual member thereof, etc., in order that this Reverend ministerial association may be united by closer bonds of sincere brotherly love.”

It was resolved to prepare fundamental rules of the nature spoken of, and Dominies Pomp and Blumer were appointed to attend to this duty and report at the next meeting of coetus. The coetus of 1793 completed the separation by the adoption of this constitution, which finally changed the coetus into a synod independent of Holland. The following is their action :

“The church discipline which was prepared and submitted to the coetus by Dominies Hendel and Blumer, was publicly read before the coetus, and each paragraph and article thoroughly investigated and various amendments made, after which it was approved and subscribed by the ministers and elders.”

So culminated the separation of our Church from the mother Church in Holland.

CHAPTER VII.—SECTION V.

THE HOLLAND DONATIONS.

We come now to a very difficult subject, as the gifts of the Holland Church to our Pennsylvania Reformed extended over a long period of years; and, besides, the records of the various Holland synods and classes do not always quite agree. A Dutch writer of considerable authority, Broes, states that the contributions from the Netherlands will not be computed too high were one to estimate them on the average of \$1000 to \$1200 a year for a period of sixty years. This would make their gifts to us \$60,000 at least.* We, however, find on examining the records that this amount is far too high. Still the amount was quite considerable, when we remember that the value of money was much greater then than now. And besides the Dutch were giving this out of the purest charity, as they were in no way responsible for the Germans here, who were citizens of another kingdom, which ought to have cared for them. We have examined the accounts and find that the Holland churches gave :

* The states of Holland and West Friesland gave \$9200 in grants from 1735 to 1763.

Amounts sent over to the coetus, about	\$12,000	
Amounts given for the traveling expenses		
of ministers, etc., about	\$8,000	
Total amount given,	————	\$20,000
Amount invested in Holland in 1800,		* \$5,880
Total amount raised for Pennsylvania,		\$25,880

The history of the donations is quite interesting. The Dutch began giving, in 1730, to Weiss and Reiff, when Weiss reported \$878.80. But although money kept flowing into the treasury for Pennsylvania, yet the action of Reiff in withholding the money collected and the lack of information from Pennsylvania prevented the Holland Church from sending any money over, except that the classis of Amsterdam sent \$102.60 to Bœhm in 1740. They also gave Dorsius \$36.80 for his trouble in gathering his report, and when in Holland presented him with \$10. They also spent \$83.76 for Bibles for Pennsylvania. But outside of this they did nothing until they sent Schlatter. When he came to America in 1746, the Pennsylvania fund, which had been accumulating on their hands, amounted to \$1120. The deputies gave him \$242 when he left for America. The deputies and classis also paid the traveling expenses of the four ministers who came over after him.

It was not, however, till 1752 that the Dutch open

* This was sold for \$2854. This fund of the Pennsylvania churches remained in Holland and was used for other religious objects.

their pocket books wide to aid Pennsylvania. Then, as the result of Schlatter's Appeal, money came pouring into the treasury. The deputies report \$538 brought in that year. The classis of Amsterdam gave \$240 and the diaconate of Amsterdam \$480.

We have described elsewhere the successful effort to get their High Mightinesses, the states of Holland and West Friesland, to grant them money. When this grant ran out in 1756, the synods again asked the states (November 30, 1756) to continue, as the needs of Pennsylvania were just as great as five years before, because the terrible Indian war had devastated the land. And besides, the English people had been showing so much interest in them by raising money for the Charity Society, that the Dutch did not wish to be outdone in liberality. As a result the states ordered a grant for three years more of \$800 a year. The synods gained this through the kind assistance and influence of "the Great Estimables," the burgomasters of Amsterdam, whom the deputies afterward thanked for their efforts. As the time began to approach when the grant would run out again, the classis of Amsterdam, April 20, 1753, ordered an "Address of Thanks" to be prepared. This was printed in a booklet in 1758.* It described the needs of the work in Pennsylvania, and the use that had been made of the money sent by

* A copy of this was kindly given the author by Rev. Prof. Van Veen, of the university of Utrecht.

Holland. It had quite an influence in gaining the next appropriation (November 29, 1759) of \$600 for two years. The synods gained this appropriation on condition that they would not make another request for Pennsylvania. But when the two years had rolled by, they ventured to make one more request, and they received (December 5, 1761) a grant of \$400 a year for two years, provided they would not ask again. The states of Holland and West Friesland thus gave \$8400, which, with the \$800 given in 1735 to Goetschi, made \$9200, which the secular authorities gave to found our Church in Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, as the time approached for these grants to run out, the deputies would urge the coetus in their letters to it to become more and more self-supporting. They did this the more, because one synod after another began giving up taking collections for Pennsylvania, the synod of Friesland having ceased as early as 1757. The main bulk of the gifts were by the consistory and classis of Amsterdam and the South and North Holland synods. The coetus grew weary of this continual prodding to greater self-support, and replied that it looks to them as if the hearts of the Holland Church were turning cold to them, because for several years the deputies had threatened to withdraw the gifts. This, however, was not true, for when the last grant ran out in 1763, the deputies bravely tried to raise sufficient money to carry on the work in Pennsylvania. They apportioned 1500 gulden among the

synods and the classis of Amsterdam. But these were not able to raise it all. As a result the gifts to Pennsylvania noticeably decrease, because they had no longer the state donations.

Fortunately the Charity Society of England had aided two of the ministers, Muntz in 1755 and Alsentz in 1757; by paying their traveling expenses to America. The deputies then ask coetus to send money to Holland to pay the traveling expenses of ministers, as they no longer had the state donations. Money was sent to Holland by the Pennsylvania congregations to bring Hendel and Weyberg over. But the coetus felt that this plan could not be carried on. Most of the congregations were too weak to send enough money to pay the traveling expenses. They therefore, in 1764, took the noble action of renouncing all their share in the donations (which heretofore had been used to supplement their meagre salaries), in order that the money might all go to the traveling expenses of the new ministers, so that the congregations might be supplied with pastors. It seems, however, that the Holland deputies misunderstood their generous act and became suspicious that by thus refusing their gifts they no longer cared for them, and were inclined to become independent, as the New York ministers had become. Coetus, however, explained matters, and a better understanding came between them. But the deputies found out that instead of sending their money to Pennsylvania and getting the

Pennsylvania churches to send money for traveling expenses, that the opposite was the better way, namely to keep their money in Holland and use it for the traveling expenses of the ministers, and send over what was left. In 1766 the deputies send over the money, not, however, to supplement salaries, but for charity, as the widows' fund and the salaries of school-masters. This became the rule in the later years, the widows' fund, until finally all the Holland donations were given to the widows' fund. The last donation was not given to the Baltimore church, as has been supposed, but was ordered to be given to Rev. Mr. Nevelling, the invalid, as late as 1793.

The coetus had quite a difficult task to divide these donations from Holland, so as not to cause friction. To avoid this, they at first divided them equally among the ministers. But this soon developed a difficulty, for Weyberg and one or two others who were receiving larger salaries than the others, yet received just as much from the donations as their poorer and more needy brethren. The coetus finally, in 1766, asked the deputies to make the division of the funds in Holland, which, however, they never seem to have done. Coetus therefore kept on dividing it equally. In course of time the difficulty in dividing it passed away, for Holland no longer sent enough to be divided among the ministers, but only for benevolence.

But better than the money sent by the Holland Church

was their kindly interest that prompted them to give it. How patiently the Dutch Church bore with our controversies, and how carefully and wisely she decided them even at her distance. One would have thought that she would long ago have wearied of her protege in Pennsylvania, but she did not. She was always waiting with interest for letters from Pennsylvania, or writing letters to Germany or Switzerland, seeking for ministers to go to Pennsylvania. The consistory of Amsterdam is to be especially commended for their liberality, as they gave about three-fifths of all that was given. That classis and consistory of Amsterdam gave about \$180 a year for many years, even as late as 1794 (two years after our Church had separated from Holland), appropriating \$169.20. The synods of North and South Holland also gave liberally.

For these large gifts and this long continued interest and supervision our Church in the United States owes a constant debt of gratitude to the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. Their disinterested kindness should always be remembered by us. We owe our present strength to the aid given by Holland to us in our weakness. Other parts of America applied to Holland for aid, as South Carolina and Nova Scotia, but were refused because the Dutch had no money. As a result there is no Reformed Church there to-day. Such to a large extent would have been the result in Pennsylvania if the Hollanders had withheld their generosity. Our General Synod, feeling this debt

when it celebrated its centennial in 1893, sent a vote of thanks to the General Synod of the Reformed Church of Holland for their kindness in the last century. Our prayer should be that this mother Church of ours might be greatly prospered, and that the blessings she sent to us might come back to her in richer measure.

CHAPTER VII.—SECTION VI.

SUMMARY OF THE COETUS.

A.—Doctrine.

The Church during the period of the coetus was evidently strongly Calvinistic and predestinarian. The matrix in which our Church was born was Calvinism. Melancthonianism was not thought of under the Dutch control. For sixty-four years (long enough to mould a Church for all its future) the Church was distinctly Calvinistic. This fact is shown by the following reasons :

1. *The Name*.—She was called the German Calvinistic Church. This is true in the correspondence with Holland. In many of the title deeds to her properties she is called the German Calvinistic Church. She was known by that name among the other denominations, and was so addressed by Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Of the German churches, over against the Lutheran she was the German Calvinist. She was Calvinist among the Germans as the Presbyterians were among the English.

2. *The Creeds*.—The first creed she adopted was the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort, the latter especially committing her to a strict predestinarian posi-

tion,* although we believe that Calvinism is also the historic interpretation of the Heidelberg Catechism. At the coetus of 1752 she reaffirmed her adherence to the Canons of Dort and the Heidelberg Catechism, as all the ministers, even Rieger, subscribed to them. The coetus of 1765 also refers to the Canons of Dort as the creed of the Church. Even down to the end they adhere to it. An interesting episode occurred in connection with the ordination of Hautz in 1783. The coetus, without waiting for the consent of Holland, ordained him, but made him sign an oath of agreement "with the doctrines, usages and regulations of the Biblical Reformed Church." For this they were taken to task by the deputies, because this oath did not specifically mention the Holland creeds. They replied, however, that they had not the slightest idea of weakening from the Holland standards, and that the oath of Hautz was intended for the opposite purpose, namely to stiffen their adherence over against certain forms of liberal thought that were coming in. Nowhere in all its history is there any renunciation of these creeds by the coetus, but, on the contrary, there was a firm adherence to them.

3. *The Oaths of the Ministers.*—All the ministers sent over from Holland were required to give adherence to these Dutch creeds, and this was true of those received by the coetus in America, who, before they would be approved

* See pages 105 and 353.

by the deputies, must approve the Dutch creeds. Indeed, those who went from Holland not only signed the Canons of Dort and Heidelberg Confession, but all three of the Dutch creeds, as they are said to have signed the "formula of unity," which meant the Belgic confession, together with the other two. Thus the oath of the early ministers reveals this :

"We, the undersigned, acknowledge by this subscription that we hold ourselves, with heart and mouth, to all those formulas whose maintenance the preachers of the coetus of Pennsylvania under the Netherland synods shall help to secure."

This was signed by the six ministers who came over with Schlatter in 1752. The full calls of two of the ministers are still extant—one given near the beginning and the other near the end of the coetus. The first is of Alsentz in 1757 and the second of Pernisius in 1784. Both subscribed to the Netherlands' symbols and the Canons of Dort, and as these calls were signed so far apart, their form of subscription was probably used by all.

4. *The Publications.*—Thus Stapel published Lampe's "Milk of Truth," which revealed his adherence to the Lampean school of Calvinistic theology, in which he had been trained at Herborn. And he says that this book was approved by the coetus, which would thus commit coetus to its views. Again Pomp is attacked by Alexander Mack, the Dunkard, in an unpublished work, for

the doctrine of the decrees taught in his book against the Everlasting Gospel.

5. *Individual Ministers.*—These, by their correspondence and works, speak of their adherence to Calvinism. One of the most significant episodes was the controversy of Pomp and Otterbein in Baltimore in 1788. Pomp attacked Otterbein with not being Reformed, because he did not believe in predestination. Otterbein wrote to Holland, defending himself against this, so that the Holland fathers would not cast him out. He assured them that he still held to predestination, but not to the double predestination. Thus both Pomp and Otterbein claim to be predestinarian, the former a high Calvinist and the latter a low Calvinist. Helffrich was a predestinarian, as was shown by his unpublished Latin dogmatics.* Rev. Samuel Helffenstein in his Theology says that its views (which are predestinarian) were those held by the Reformed fathers in this country from the beginning. And Herman evidently was a predestinarian, for he accepted this doctrine when he signed the oath before deputies to come to America. Predestinarianism was not forced on the ministers, as has been charged, but they accepted it willingly, “with heart and voice.”

All these things reveal the dogmatic position of our

* This work was kindly loaned to the author by Rev. Nevin W. Helffrich, whose father's valuable transcripts of coetus' minutes and correspondence was presented to Ursinus College by another son, Rev. William U. Helffrich.

early Church. Whatever may have been the later departures from Calvinism, the Church was cradled in Calvinism, and she held it during the period of the coetus. It was not until Rauch, Nevin and Schaff brought into her the Mediating theology of Germany, that there were any very serious departures from the Calvinism that was the common belief of the early Church. The Church, from 1725 to 1850, was essentially Calvinistic and Zwinglian.

B.—Worship.

The early Church was non-liturgical. It used a free service in the regular Sabbath worship, although it used forms for special occasions, as the sacraments, marriage and ordination. This is proved by the following reasons :

1. In the coetus' acts there is no liturgy mentioned as having been used in connection with the worship at the coetus' meetings. It is nowhere said that the ministers opened with the liturgical forms "for the opening of synod." But, on the contrary, they are said to have been opened with a "fervent prayer," "an earnest prayer," which phrases would have been meaningless if the same old forms were used every time. These adjectives refer to the matter and manner of the prayer as being different every time.

2. Wherever in the Holland correspondence a liturgy is mentioned, the forms mentioned as used are those connected with the extraordinary services, as sacraments, marriage and ordinations, and not with the ordinary Sunday

services. Thus Boehm objects to the union with the Presbyterians, because he would be compelled to give up his use of a liturgy on sacramental and extraordinary occasions. But he does not speak of differing from the Presbyterians in the regular Sunday service, which among the Presbyterians was free. Again, when Boehm speaks of a divergence existing between Schlatter's and his customs in the Philadelphia congregation, when Schlatter introduced the St. Gall liturgy, he speaks of its use only for sacraments, and marriages and ordinations.

3. The oath of the ministers required the use only for sacramental occasions. Thus the deputies in 1761 require of Weyberg the use of the formula for baptism and the Lord's Supper, but nothing more.

4. If responsive liturgical services had been common, then there must have been a number of liturgies published during this period for the use of the congregations, so that the members might know when to come in with the responses, etc. But no liturgy was published during the entire period of the coetus, showing a carelessness of the churches in regard to this matter. The reason was that the Reformed did not use such a liturgy. It is said by Rev. Dr. Samuel Helffenstein that a liturgy was published in 1794, (after the close of the coetus.) We have seen a copy of this and it is the simplest we have ever seen. It has no forms for Sabbath services, only for ordination, baptism, confirmation, Lord's Supper and marriage.

5. The only liturgical formula that could have been used officially was the Netherlands, and the fathers say they used the Palatinate. But none of these have responses or broken up prayers for responses. They are very simple.

6. Although the Mayer liturgy, published in 1841, and adopted by the Church, does not belong to this period, yet it gave a good idea of the custom of the early Reformed fathers in worship. It contains no services for the regular Sabbath services, only for extra occasions, as sacraments, etc., revealing that the old custom of the Church was a free service at the regular worship.

THE CHURCH YEAR.

The old Reformed custom, according to the Palatinate liturgy, was to observe the five great festivals of the church year which were founded on the Bible—Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday. It cast aside the rest of the fictions and falsehoods of the church year. Our church records, therefore, refer to the Biblical feasts. But although Schlatter held the first coetus on St. Michael's Day, the coetus soon cast that aside, and met regardless of such extra days of the church year. It however dated itself in reference to Ascension or Whitsunday, as they were Biblical feasts.

ALTAR.

There is no mention of the altar as a piece of church furniture, for the Reformed name was communion table. This is shown :

1. The liturgies in use, as the Netherlands, or Palatinate (or even Basle, if the latter were used) have no room for any altar service or mention an altar. They all speak of a "table."

2. The Heidelberg Catechism speaks of a table in question 81. The English translation has changed this question, but the German (which was the original language of the catechism) which was in use in the days of the coetus, reads thus : "Who are to come to the Table of the Lord."

3. Schlatter speaks of it as a communion table. Thus on May 15, 1747, he says in his diary : "I preached at Fredericktown in a new church, which is not yet finished, standing behind a table, upon which had been placed the holy covenant seals of baptism and the Lord's Supper."

4. In union churches (that is those that were Lutheran and Reformed) the communion table may have been called by the Lutherans an altar, for the altar is a part of their service. But the Reformed could not have used it as such, because their liturgies and creeds had no room for an altar. But even the Lutherans did not cherish any peculiar sanctity for the altar, for these altars (if we may use the Lutheran term) were only chancel-closets used for any secular purpose. Thus hymn books, Bibles, and even lost handkerchiefs and gloves, were kept in them, yes, even dust rags and brushes. There was no such sanctity about them as is given now to the altar, in which no closet

is allowed or secularity permitted. These modern altars were unknown to our fathers. It was not until the controversy began in the Church about 1860 that altars—high altars—began to be spoken of and introduced. They would be a novelty to our fathers of the coetus.

HYMN BOOKS.

No hymn book was published by the coetus, although the Marburg hymn book was used. This had in it some Lutheran elements, because intended in this country for Lutherans as well as Reformed. And when the synod published its first hymn book in 1797, it left these out.

C.—Constitution.

The first church constitution was that of Bœhm, adopted first by his own congregation and afterward by the coetus in 1748. The Holland fathers, however, made the Netherland church constitution the constitution of the Church. The coetus again and again expressed its attachment to the Netherland Church constitution, as in 1765 and 1768.

Into the details of the church government we have not time to enter. It would be interesting to discuss the brief controversies that deputies had with the classis of Amsterdam, as in 1757, about the right of ordination, in 1772 about traveling expenses, and finally after 1793 about the disposal of the Pennsylvania funds. But we have not time. With these exceptions the Holland synod, for

such a complex organization, worked quite harmoniously together in their Pennsylvania work.

Nor can we enter at length into the various constitutional points that came up in the history of the coetus here. We would note only the following :

1. *The Membership of the Coetus.*—The composition of the coetus was at first not quite clear. Quite a number of the congregations remained away from the coetus of 1748, as they had no pastors. But soon they found that a pastorless congregation was still a member of the coetus. When Schlatter, who had been compelled to leave Philadelphia, was elected president of the coetus, Rubel brought up the point that a minister without a charge was not a member of the coetus, but the coetus decided for Schlatter and against Rubel, thus making a minister without a charge a member. The only condition of membership for either ministers or congregations was adherence to the Holland creeds, and submission to the Holland Church and the coetus. In 1753 came the controversy whether elders were members of coetus. But the Holland fathers decided against Schlatter here, saying that they were, although the elders for some time were not allowed to have a vote in the distribution of the Holland donations, but finally this right was granted to them too. The coetus gradually defined the rights of members more and more, although in cases of discipline it had gradually to learn how to proceed in a regular manner.

2. *The Relations of the Coetus to the Congregation.*

—*a.* The Pastoral Relation. Here appeared almost at the very beginning a controversy. The Philadelphia congregation claimed the right to call and dismiss a pastor at will. Schlatter claimed this was not right, as the coetus must approve and dissolve pastoral relationships. Coetus decided for Schlatter. Some of the congregations also claimed the right to engage a minister for a specified term of years or by the year. This prevented them from being entirely subject to coetus on this point. But the Holland Church was very severe against this custom, giving the coetus no rest until this was done away with. Later coetus gave greater liberty to the congregations. It allowed them to call a minister without waiting for a meeting of the coetus. Thus the coetus of 1782 says it had given this power to the congregations and would keep it up. Often congregations and ministers could not wait for coetus' meeting, as they were held so seldom.

b. Visitation. As the Holland fathers insisted on a visitation of the churches, Schlatter had at first occupied virtually the position of visitor up to 1755. Coetus in 1759 appointed Leydich, in 1760 Otterbein and Stoy. In 1763 it decided that, owing to the scarcity of ministers and increase of their labors, this could not be attempted that year. They told the Holland fathers in 1764 that they had no wish to give it up, and would try to have it done in the summer. In 1764 and 1765 Weyberg and Alsentz

acted as visitors. But coetus had to give it up. There were too few ministers and the distances were too great. The visitor, however, was not of any higher rank than other ministers, for the Weiss party settled the question of the parity of the ministry in the coetus.

3. *The Relations of the Coetus to the Upper Court, namely, the Holland Deputies and Classis of Amsterdam.*—There was no controversy here about the right of appeal to Holland, which was frequently used, both by the coetus and the ministers. We have already noted quite a difference between them, namely, on the right of ordination, which the Holland Church was loth to give, and the coetus claimed it in special cases. The Holland fathers also in 1758 asked for statistics, such as they received from other Churches which they supported. The coetus found this difficult, and its failure to give statistics caused dissatisfaction in the Holland synods in 1759. But by 1760 coetus sent the statistics of the churches over, and they keep it up after that, although the deputies sometimes find fault with these for being imperfect, and especially with some of the ministers, who did not make any report at all, even when present at coetus. Still the statistics are comparatively full and very important. The coetus kept up a regular correspondence with Holland, sending its coetus' minutes, accompanied with a coetal letter, every year. Sometimes these would go astray or be long belated. The deputies and classis also both kept up a regular correspondence with the coetus.

Summing it up, the constitution of the coetus was a democratic Calvinism, not aristocratic. Schlatter had tried to introduce the latter, but failed, as Weiss (who represented the autonomy of the congregations), and his party prevailed. Coetus, therefore, allowed congregations a large amount of power. The congregation was the norm of church government, not the coetus (or classis). The congregations came first, and they it was who formed the coetus. The coetus did not first form the congregations. Each congregation retained for itself the right it had not given the coetus. Thus centralization of power was unknown, but the greater liberty allowed the congregations produced spontaneity of effort on their part, which Calvinistic aristocracy and centralization of power, regardless of the rights of the congregation, crushes out. Its government, in a word, was democratic Calvinism, the individuality of the congregation being preserved and guarded in connection with the authority of the Church.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE FIRST GERMAN REFORMED CONGREGATION IN AMERICA.

Virginia seems to have the honor of having the first German Reformed congregation. Since Rev. John F. Haeger, who went to New York state, can be dismissed from notice, as he was an Episcopalian, not Reformed, it now appears, according to Rev. Professor Hinke, that Haeger's father, who went to Virginia, held the first Reformed service. John Henry Haeger was born in 1644 at Antshausen in Nassau, Germany, and became (September 25, 1678) teacher of the third class in the Latin school at Siegen. In 1703 he became pastor at Fischbach. In 1711 he resigned at Fischbach. He was in London, October 2, 1713, when he asked the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to aid him, but was refused. In 1714 he went, together with twelve Protestant families, to Virginia by the invitation of Governor Spotswood, who wanted miners. (Siegen was surrounded by mines.) They settled at what is now known as Germania Ford on the Rapidan. The following is a very

interesting description of the first German Reformed worship as given by a French traveler who passed through their district on November 20 and 21, 1715 :

“About 5 P. M. we crossed the bridge that was made by the Germans, and about 6 we arrived at the German settlement. We immediately went to the minister's house. We found nothing to eat, but lived upon our small provision and lay upon some good straw. Our beds not being very easy, as soon as it was day we got up. It rained hard. Notwithstanding we walked about the town, which is palisaded with stakes struck in the ground and laid close to the other, and of substance to bear out a musket shot. There are but nine families, and they have nine houses built all in a line ; and before every house, about twenty feet distant from it, they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that hogstys and houses make a street. The place that is paled is a pentagon very regularly laid out, and in the very centre there is a blockhouse made with five sides, which answer to the five sides of the enclosure. There are loopholes through it, from which you may see all the inside of the enclosure. This was intended for a retreat for the people in case they were not able to defend the palisades if attacked by Indians. They make use of this blockhouse for divine service. They go to prayers constantly once a day, and have two sermons on Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which was done in their own language,

which we did not understand, but they seemed to be very devout and sang the Psalms very well."

This is the first mention of a German Reformed service in America, and it was held in the fort. This congregation sent one of the settlers, J. C. Zollikofer, to Europe in 1719 to get a new minister, as Haeger was getting old. He, in a paper of Frankford, Germany, of June 15, 1720, made an appeal for aid. These Germans remained at Germanna until before 1724, when, having become dissatisfied with the governor, who refused to give them titles to land there, they left and went northwest to Germantown (now Weaversville, Va.) Haeger seems to have lived until 1737 (when his will is probated, March 28, 1737), dying at the great age of ninety-three years.

II.

MEETINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COETUS.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Month and Day.</i>	<i>Kind of Meeting.*</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>President.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
1747	Sept. 29-Oct. 2.		Philadelphia.	Schlatter.	Böhm.
1748	September 28-30.		"	Böhm.	Rieger.
1749	September 27.	Quasi Meeting.	Lancaster.	Rieger.	Weiss.
"	October 20-24.		Philadelphia.	"	"
1750	November 16.		"	Weiss.	Leydich.
"	December 13.	Special.	"	"	"
1751	September 12.		(?)	Leydich (?)	Lischy (?)
1752	August 10-13.	Special.	Philadelphia.		
"	October 18-23.		Lancaster.	Schlatter.	Stoy.
"	December 12.	Special.	Philadelphia.	"	"
1753	April 26-27.	Special.	Lancaster.	"	Rieger.
"	September 10.	Quasi Meeting.	Goshenhoppen.	Weiss.	
"	October 9-10.		Lancaster.	Rieger.	Otterbein.
"	October 10-12.	Rival Coetus.	Cocalico.	Weiss.	Leydich.
1754	October 30-31.	Convention.	Philadelphia.		
1755	April 9-11.		Lancaster.	Weiss.	Rieger.
"	October.	Special.	(?)	"	"
1756	June 15-17.		Philadelphia.	Rieger.	Leydich.
1757	June 8-9.		Lancaster.	Otterbein.	Steiner.
"	August 24.	Special.	Philadelphia.	Leydich.	"
1758	September 16.		"	Steiner.	Waldschmidt.
1759	October 9.		Goshenhoppen.	Waldschmidt.	Alsentz.
1760	May 28.	Special.	Falkner Swamp	Leydich.	"
"	October 21-22.		Germantown.	Alsentz.	DuBois.
1761	June 24-25.		Lancaster.	"	"
1762	June 30-July 1.		New Hanover.	DuBois.	Stapel.
1763	May 5-6.		Germantown.	Stapel.	Alsentz.
"	October 24.	Special.	Philadelphia.	"	"
1764	May 2-3.		"	Alsentz.	Weyberg.
"	September 12.	Special.	(?)	"	"

* When a regular meeting is meant, no mention is made in the column.

MEETINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COETUS.—Continued.

<i>Year. Month and Day.</i>	<i>Kind of Meeting.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>President.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
1765 May 8-9.		Lancaster.	Weyberg.	Alsentz.
“ October 16-17.	Special.	Philadelphia.	“	“
1766 September 3-4.		Reading.	Otterbein.	Hendel.
1767 September 16-17.		Lancaster.	DuBois.	“
1768 September 7-9.		Easton.	Hendel.	Gros.
1769 September 20-21.		Germantown.	Gros.	Pomp.
1770 September 19-21.		Philadelphia.	Pomp.	Henop.
1771 October 9-10.		Reading.	Henop.	Faber.
1772 June 17-18.		Lancaster.	Faber.	Bœhme.
1773 October 27-28.		“	Bœhme.	Blumer.
1774 May 2-3.		Philadelphia.	Blumer.	Dallicker.
1775 May 10-11.		Lebanon.	Dallicker.	Bucher.
1776 May 1.		Lancaster.	Gobrecht.	Helffrich.
1777 April 28-29.		Reading.	Helffrich.	Witner.
1778 May 13. (?)	Quasi Meeting.	Lancaster.		
1779 April 28-29.		“	Hendel.	Helffenstein.
1780	No Meeting.			
1781 May 9-10.		Philadelphia.	Helffenstein.	Weyberg.
1782 May 2.		Reading.	Weyberg.	Pomp.
1783 May 14-15.		Philadelphia.	Pomp.	Dallicker.
1784 May 12-13.		Lancaster.	Henop.	Blumer.
1785 April 27-28.		Reading.	Blumer.	Helffrich.
1786 May 17-18.		Philadelphia.	Helffrich.	Dallicker.
1787 June 5-7.		Lancaster.	Dallicker.	Helffenstein.
1788 April 23-24.		Reading.	Helffenstein.	Dallicker.
1789 June 10-11.		Philadelphia.	Hendel.	“
1790 June 7-8.		Falkner Swamp	Dallicker.	Pomp.
1791 June 27-28.		Lancaster.	Hendel.	Wagner.
1792 May 6-7.		Philadelphia.	Wagner.	Wynckhaus.

III.

ANDREW LORETZ.

Just as the last form of this book was going to press, we received the Autograph Book of Andrew Loretz from Mr. A. C. Link, of Hickory, N. C. It shows that there were two persons named Andrew Loretz, and that the younger was at Kaufbeuren, Bavaria, from May 6, 1779, to June 7, 1783. He was in Chiavenna, Italy, May 8, 1784, and in Chur, August 28 to September 10, 1784. His Certificate of Citizenship and Health from the city of Chur is dated September 8, 1784, when he must have left for America, probably to follow his father. On June 12, 1786, he was at Myerstown, Pa., where John Reily wrote in his autograph book. From there he went to North Carolina.

 ERRATA.

Page 144, Henry Haeger should be John Henry Haeger.

Page 262, Toberbihler should be Toberbillier.

Page 495, "soldier" should be "champion."

Page 590, John Peter Miller should be Peter Miller.

Page 591, the end of paragraph on Hertzal should be "1785-1795," instead of 1780.

Page 613, Faremer should be Farmer.

Page 640, 1809 should be 1819.

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We owe to Professor James I. Good, D.D., a *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*.¹ It supplies a want, and it supplies it well. Dr Good has already written some excellent volumes on the history of the Reformed Church of Germany, which have taken a good place among American contributions to ecclesiastical history. He has had it long in mind to write the history of the German Reformed Church in the United States, and he has been collecting materials for many years from many quarters. Switzerland, Germany, and England, have furnished much that has not been used before, and the archives of the Hague have yielded up the missing Coetus' Minutes together with a large correspondence. Most of the early history of the German Reformed Church in America is thus, the author believes, made clear.

His book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of ecclesiastical life and movements in the United States. It will be read with interest by many outside the limits of the writer's own church. It is written in a business-like, unpretentious style, and follows a simple and natural plan. Beginning with some well-drawn sketches of the forerunners of the German Reformed Church in Brazil, Florida, New Amsterdam, New York, and Carolina, it deals in succession with the period before congregational organisation (1710-1725); the Church under such organisation (1725-1747); the Church under Synodical government (1747-1755); the Coetus up to the Revolution (1755-1775), during the Revolution (1776-1783), and after it (1783-1793). Some appendices (on the first Reformed congregation in America, etc.) are added, and the book is brightened by occasional illustrations. Professor Good is to be congratulated on the successful completion of these studies.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, 1725-1792. By PROFESSOR JAMES I. GOOD, D.D. Reading, Pa.: Daniel Miller, 1899. Pp. viii + 701. \$3.

MATERIAL for a history of the Reformed church in this country, covering the period included in Dr. Good's book, has been scarce, and it may be this accounts for the fact that the church historians have written so little concerning the early history of the denomination. The sources of the history are almost exclusively written, consisting of correspondence between the church here and the mother-church in the Old World, and also the "Minutes of Coetus." These precious documents had been stored away in old libraries, neglected, and almost forgotten. Their existence was suspected, and yet the idea prevailed that they were lost. In bringing these documents to light Dr. Good has done the church great service, and has given us the most satisfactory history of the Reformed church in this country we have had up to this time. The future historian will find little more material than that which Dr. Good has furnished; he therefore deserves great credit for the indefatigable labor he bestowed upon it, as well as the great expense connected with the search after the missing manuscripts.

Dr. Good informs us that he has been searching many years for the material of which this volume is composed, and that in the search other valuable material came to light, which has been embodied in his *Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany* and his *History of the Reformed Church of Germany*. In order that he might properly set forth the early history of the denomination, it was necessary to examine the "Minutes of Coetus." These were stowed away in the archives of Amsterdam and The Hague. After several journeys to Europe these documents were found, copied, and translated for his use. Out of this material he has evolved a history which is all that could be wished for.

A careful perusal of the work will convince the reader that the author follows the natural course of events in narrating the trials of the founders of the church, not only in their own land, but more especially in the new home which they found on this side of the Atlantic.

As to the question of doctrine and cultus, there are many who will not agree with Dr. Good, and yet the line of investigation which he has conducted cannot help but strengthen the views which the Reformed people have held for years. Dr. Good says: "The church during the period of the Coetus was evidently strongly Calvinistic and predestinarian. . . . In many of the title-deeds of her properties

